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WOMEN UNDER THE ADAT

JULIA SARUMPAET-HUTABARAT

FREEDOM AND THE GOSPEL ON THE

AMERICAN SCENE

MARTIN J. HEINECKEN

KIERKEGAARD IN AMERICAN

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

REIDAR THOMTE

CHURCH AND POLITICS

GUNNAR HILLERDAL

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When the world was full of men of great importance and extreme insignificance, of great wealth and extreme poverty, of great learning and extreme ignorance, I turned aside from the latter to fix observation on the former alone, who gratified my sympathies. But I admit that this gratification arose from my own weakness; it is because I am unable to see at once all that is around me that I am allowed thus to select and separate the objects of my predilection from among so many others. Such is not the case with that Almighty and Eternal Being whose gaze necessarily includes the whole of created things and who surveys distinctly, though all at once, mankind and man.

We may naturally believe that it is not the singular prosperity of the few, but the greater well-being of all that is most pleasing in the sight of the Creator and Preserver of men. What appears to me to be man's decline is, to His eye, advancement; what afflicts me is acceptable to Him. A state of equality is perhaps less elevated, but it is more just: and its justice constitutes its greatness and its beauty. I would strive, then, to raise myself to this point of the divine contemplation and thence to view and to judge the concerns of men.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

Democracy in America

JULIA SARUMPAET-HUTABARAT

Women under the Adat

Mrs. Sarumpaet has made available to us the following two essays to illustrate the issues that arise between Adat (custom) and Christianity over the relationship and equality of men and women. The first narrative is an account of the baptism of her youngest, seventh, daughter; the second is a talk given before the Indonesian Christian Women's Association (Persatuan Wanita Kristen Indonesia) at their December 1953 convention at Tarutung, Sumatra. The convention topic was "The Batak Adat in Christianity".

(On the question of Adat and Christianity see also Keith Bridston's account in "A Younger Church in Stormy Seas", *Lutheran World*, Vol. II, No. I (Spring 1955), especially pp. 73 f.)

I.

THE SON

The day had come at last.

The neighbors had been personally informed that "tomorrow our baby-girl will be baptized, and there will be a feast". They were asked to honor us with their presence, and the invitation was heartily accepted on all sides.

The nearest relatives had already arrived two days before. The whole week had stood in the sign of the coming Sunday, the feast of Baby-girl, as we call an unbaptized baby. Relatives and friends had been invited by letter. The whole house had been turned upside down. Plates had been borrowed, and mats for the people to sit on. The pig had arrived, a huge pig; there would be enough for everyone.

Our elder daughters had been told to make an accurate list of the gifts in kind: living or prepared chicken, cooked or raw rice, etc.

Baby's christening robe was ready. So were her parent's formal clothes: father's dark suit, mother's sarong, interwoven with gold thread, and her *slendang* (shoulder-scarf) and black lace jacket.

On Sunday morning I woke up with a festive feeling: the feast could begin. We talked together for a while, my husband and I; it was still very early.

"It is a pity that uncle cannot come", said I. "I would be more at ease if he were there. Not that I am particularly afraid; especially of late, we have been quite frank. But one never knows. And uncle has such a way of putting things straight; everything in its place and seen in its right proportions. He is not at all afraid to call a spade a spade. But then he can do that, you know — he has authority. As a pandita (clergyman), and as principal relation: as mother's own brother."

"Yes", said my husband, who shares my respect for this uncle. "But well, if he cannot come after church, we shall send for him in the afternoon, so that he can be present when we receive our foreign guests."

"Yes, but we need him at the family feast. . . Well, it is not so bad after all", I said hopefully. And my husband answered, with a pensive look: "If we were to give no feast, people would say it was because we were disappointed. Now that it is to be quite a big one — no matter how we selected from among the people we regularly see or work with, there were so many we simply could not pass over — now chances are that people will say we did it with a special intention. Anyhow, today is a feast-day and we are glad. Bear up, and don't make any blunders against our adat. —"



As usual, the church is crowded. I notice eighteen babies. After the sermon the baptismal hymn is sung: Lord, we bring this child unto Thee. . .

It is a good custom to wear the traditional bridal gown when presenting a child at the font. The blessing at the solemnization of marriage is confirmed and renewed in the holy moments when man and wife as father and mother once more come up to the altar with their child.

With the child in my arms, I hear how it is solemnly received into God's congregation: Elsa, I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Then the blessing follows:

The Lord defend thee, from thy entrance into His Kingdom, for ever and ever. After this, the hymn of thanksgiving is sung:

Unspeakable is my joy,
Because I am Thine.

An hour later we are trying hard to find a good seat for all our guests. The girls are clumsy from nervousness, but fortunately the guests are not particular.

After the meal, we clear away, and then the official part follows. Little Elsa is brought in. With the child in my lap I sit by the side of my husband and relatives-in-law. Opposite our group sit the in-laws of my husband, and next to them the friends.

The speeches begin:

"An invitation has come, the invitation has been accepted. We have enjoyed good food, are satisfied with excellent meat, the reason of this convocation may now be explained."

The answer comes from somebody on our side, father-in-law, brother-in-law, or some other member of our clan:

"We thank you, honored relatives, kinsmen, daughters and friends, for your willingness to honor our house with your presence. Though the food may have been plain and of little value, it is our hope that it may make your foreheads shine, and may strengthen your body and spirit. If the reception has been poor, we hope that our frugality may result in greater wealth, so that some other time we may treat you in a dignified way. As to the invitation, it is because today a child was given its name by the Lord. So we called you, that we may rejoice together."

Then the reply follows:

"If, then, such is the case, we are thankful and glad with you. The Lord protect the child, may it grow up in good health and prosperity in the wake of its parents. May its parents in good health witness the development of the child. May happiness and prosperity be allotted to all of us, relatives and friends. May be given to us wealth, respect, and many children.

Stars in the sky,
Clouds gathering
May you have many daughters in succession,
Sons in great number."

So it goes on, one after another adding a blessing for the child and its parents, some solemnly, some in a matter-of-fact way, some being cheered for their ability in reciting old proverbs.

I listen indulgently to all these well-known sounds. Ceremonies are always a bit monotonous, but I don't mind now, for in my lap little Elsa is kicking cheerfully, and she smiles at me reassuringly when a careless remark hurts unintentionally.

"...For this is already the seventh daughter of our son. And

though we are glad with this daughter, our heart longs for the great joy, for the son, that there may be one to govern the sisters. . .”

Slowly joy is fading away. Perhaps I will never learn to remain calm under such words. I feel injured and disappointed. Little Elsa still smiles at me, and she makes me smile, too. Yes, my little daughter, little honey, we can laugh, we don't care a straw that you are — again — a girl. Mother would not even change you for a son.

But we are not alone, and it is not becoming to shut one's ears when one is spoken to.

“We are glad to see that you bear your cross with patience. We hope you will not lose courage, for the sun is still high in the sky (that is, you are still young, and can have many more children). Once, we are sure, God will grant us our wish.” — And if that wish is not granted, what of it? I think boldly. — “For though you don't utter it in words, do not we know what is in your heart? And that is why we can understand so well, why so many servants of our Lord, from high to low, have been invited to your house. God will be merciful and incline His ear, where with so many we beg His mercy. . .”

With a start I look around and see to my horror that we have all the church dignitaries of the Silindung valley in our house. Is it my fault that through our work my husband and I are constantly in touch with them? And is it explained like that?

Father rises to speak. Briefly, he points out modern progress, and how it affects the position of the woman. He speaks about Christianity, in which a marriage does not stand or fall with a son. There is resignation in his voice, but not the least trace of the unspeakable joy we sang of in church, because a child — not a son or a daughter — was brought before God. Ah, how far away seems church, how simple everything was there, and how tiresomely complicated things are made here.

Now father, as the head of the family, calls upon one of the brothers to speak. — There he fires away, as a brother, one of the big men of the clan.

“... We, too, are fellow-sufferers in your sorrow, my brother-in-law, but we know that with you religion is no slight matter, and therefore we are not afraid. But our hearts keep seeking and groping for the reason of this suffering. What obstacle is there? What keeps the blessing away? Is it a shortcoming on our side? One never knows, my sister, is there a silent desire? Speak, my sister, do not be afraid to utter it.

“Speak now, in this moment, now that we are all together, relatives and servants of God. Speak freely, that we may grant your wish. . .”

Then it is my turn, and I say that it is a great joy for each Batak daughter to receive a daughter-gift, but that my brother should not complicate matters. Our heart is at rest, there is no unfulfilled desire that keeps the blessing away.

I have much more to say, but he interrupts me, and I try to soothe myself with the thought that this is not a public meeting of the Women's Association.

I get my daughter-gift: a silk shawl is draped round our shoulders, as a symbol of protection, a sign of the love and goodwill of my relatives, who wish to see their daughter blessed with all good things, especially with a son.

As a right-minded daughter I ought to ask whether *we* have done some wrong against my husband's relatives-in-law, a sin against adat which kept the son away.

But I do nothing of the kind, for a son is a gift from God, directly from Him, not through a family as mediator, may they be ever so much the honored relatives on the distaff side. That others have a son is not because they are better than I. That has nothing to do with it.

Oh, how I hate this pious pagan talk! I will get up, away from my relatives-in-law, who sit there together, prostrated. I will get up and with my girl in my arms — my seventh — I will say to all these people who feel called upon to comfort and insult us:

Honored guests, honored relatives and friends, we have called you together, not to grieve over this seventh daughter, but to be glad with us. Neither have we called upon you because we need your prayer to extort a son from God.

Perhaps you remember that the disciples once asked our Saviour who had sinned, the blind man or his parents. You know what the Lord answered. Neither this man nor his parents, but that the Name of my Father should be glorified. Is it impossible to look for an explanation in that direction? How many times have we in our singleness of heart called friends and relatives together to thank God, and always the old wounds are ripped up again.

When I have come to this I shall have lost self-control. But then I will kneel down before father, my child close against me, to defend her against human foolishness. Then I will say: Father, that this still causes you pain, that is my greatest grief. You who enjoined the love for Christ upon us, who set us the example of a godly life. That you cannot be glad, though for you the night is drawing near. Or is it for that very reason, is it so hard to leave the earth when not all children are blessed in that respect? If I could only see you glad on my account. Is it so bad not to be a man?

Have I, your daughter, not always been an honor to your name? Has any of your sons so honored it? Is all that nothing to you because I have no son? I have never hoped for your appreciation of my work. Formerly I did not even dare to speak about it in your presence. But of late I know that you agree that a change is necessary. You agreed with me, but grudgingly, because it is hard for you to leave the old traditions. You agreed with me, intellectually. Into a joy it has never grown. The gnawing desire that your daughter might again keep a son in her arms has remained. Must we then be blind to all other blessings because of that? Is it such a hard fate to have a daughter who wishes to be obedient to God? Is not that what matters, or do I take that too simply?

Then, when I have pulled myself together, I will press my head against my little girl's face and ask the honored guests if they don't think it an injustice to say to this child that we have come together in honor of her, whereas we only long for a boy. There is a Batak saying about the reproach of a soul. That is not a thing to belittle, for it brings misfortune. The honored guests must bear in mind that unconsciously this child may feel that people are not glad with her.

But I don't say anything, and I don't stir, I only keep my arms round my daughter. For a hostess does not read her guests a lecture. And I promise myself and her that she will never feel that she is again-a-girl. Through the window I can see the outline of blue mountains against the sky. Life is great and immensely glorious for everyone, man or woman, who is willing to be God's instrument. This my children will experience; in and through this they will be happy.

Oh uncle, if you had only been here. If you had said all this. People won't accept it from me. What is the use of speaking when everyone is convinced that my husband and I are only pretending. When nobody will believe that we do not consider this a calamity.

I should have liked to have a son, but not because I think a girl inferior. I thought: God will give me a son this time. God will understand that I feel freer in my fight for the rights of women when my daughters once more have a little brother. Then people will look at me without prejudice, because they cannot say any longer that I am only fighting in the interest of my daughters and of myself. Of course God will see it that way.

But God did not see it that way! For we are not to lay down rules to God. We are to obey and to be glad.

Silently we sit, my husband and I, with our child in my lap, while the flow of words goes over our heads. Of many of the guests I have nevertheless heard that they appreciate my work. If that is to be

belived, is it so bad if these children grow up into women who can do seven times as much? Or into women who may be happy in their own families, without the discord between home and work?

This ceremony, too, draws to a close.

The psalm that is read at the end underlines again the whole. It is about prosperity, sons and daughter, filled granaries and flocks by ten thousands.

Then at length, as a promise, comes the hymn of joy: "Unspeakable is my joy, because I am Thine. . ."

As a gift, a jewel whose sparkling is lost in many thick bandages...

Don't tell me that it is unnecessary to take them off. . .

II.

TO MY SISTERS

Honored Mothers, dear Sisters!

In the first place we want to express our happiness and thankfulness for the fact that so many of you came from all over the Silindung valley, after we sent you the invitation to attend this open session.

We called you together in order to do some constructive thinking and discussing about the Batak Adat — our Adat — considered in the light of God's Word. In view of this we want to search together for what ought to be our task and standpoint as Christian women. This subject has been discussed intensively in all chapters and sub-chapters of the Women's Christian Association of Indonesia all over Tapanuli¹, during the last two months.

Yesterday all the representatives arrived in Tarutung in order to bring to the convention the ideas of their chapters about our subject. Last night we had a meeting in which we combined the different views, the result of which we may call the vision of the Women's Christian Association of Indonesia in the Tapanuli district. The aim of this meeting is to acquaint you with these principles and proposals, because we are convinced that they are not only important to us, but that this is a matter of importance for all. I hope that all our members here present, will be able to attend the discussions which will

¹ County, in which Tarutung is located.

now follow in a dignified manner and with the conviction of belonging together.

What does it mean, our Adat?

It is not very easy to explain something which is understood by everybody in our country. When I say "Adat", all of you know what I mean. But should we try to explain this word and its meaning, we would certainly have a hard time.

What is it, Adat? Well, Adat is Adat, it is not necessary to explain it. Why? On account of the fact that we cannot think about ourselves apart from the Adat. We and our Adat are *one*, it is very difficult to explain yourself. So much does Adat mean in our lives.

Although we accomplish our Adat-duties with many sighs, none of us thinks it is an honor to be called without Adat. It is a shame to sell an inheritance. But if a person serves the Adat by selling his inheritance, it is allowed. This is how much the Adat means to us. Accordingly, thinking more deeply, you might want to call the Adat a part of our people's culture. But replacing Adat by "culture" is a superficial solution. For when we speak about our culture, we talk about something one is able to see: our folkdances, for instance, our Batak sarongs, our Batak woodcarving.

I think we had better explain it in this way:

In the early days our Adat was identical with our religion, our faith. And I am convinced that this identity is the reason that the influence of the Adat still is so strong in our days. However, on the other side we are using modern facilities which bring us progress: from dresses to airplanes and European houses. And although we have gathered as much wisdom from books as possible, deep in our hearts remains the evidence: I am a child of the Batak-people — and dedicated to our Adat. I am not now considering the fact whether we are happy about this knowledge or not — we simply have to admit it.

I explained the word Adat with "religion" because a part of our Adat is called "manulangi", that is the preparation of Adat-meals for deceased relatives of the mother or the wife, in order to influence their souls favorably: — and there are other Adat-actions which I will not now recount, which are still carried on at the present time.

But does not this, after all, mean giving divine power to a human being? It is true that we do not like to hear this asserted so directly, and we are inclined to defend ourselves and deny the truth of it. But let us rather give in, that we may be able to understand ourselves better. We must not compare the Adat-use as mentioned above with the story of Jacob and Esau who served their father a meal in order that he, Isaac, would give them a very particular blessing — which

was connected with the promised Messiah. We are convinced now that the power of tradition extends even to religion and spiritual life, and we do not have to wonder any more about our present situation.

I have just said that our hearts offer resistance to the idea of placing the Adat on the same level as religion. This is true because we became Christians . . . and no one professes two religions at the same time.

But although we are Christians, consciously or unconsciously our thoughts are still very much ruled by the ideas of paganism. In a few moments the delegates' motions will be presented to us. We did not dare request equal rights as far as inheritances are concerned. We did not do so because the foundation of our Adat is the system of the man's "conganars" and, on the other hand, the woman's "conganars", that gives her in marriage. Were we to ask for equal division of the inheritances of the clan between sons and daughters, we should cause chaos, since it would throw the clan-system into disorder. — But we only want to give in on this particular issue, concerning immovables of the clan. We demand one hundred percent equal rights for sons and daughters to all other possessions.

In a few moments when we shall all hear those wishes and their explanations, we shall see how much they mean to us and how extensive they are. And we shall have many reasons to be thankful, should they be accepted as lawful by the government. But, my sisters, if we want to succeed we ought to be convinced about the righteousness and reasonableness of our desires, and therefore we shall have to talk and think a little more about these matters. If we feel that these desires are not respectable or righteous, and if they arouse the prejudice of our Adat, then we will not have gained anything.

We shall send our petitions to the fathers, since they are the chieftains of the Adat. But if they should give their consent, it is we, the women, who will be responsible for their realization. Because we women are the ones who bereave our sisters of their right and place: sisters-in-law, mother-in-law, and daughters-in-law are the ones who envy each other, who grudge each other's position. We women, we are not righteous even on behalf of our children: If a daughter is much more intelligent than a son — still the son has to go to school, although he may not be a brilliant student at all, because for us only the son has value, however much we may love our daughters.

We women are the ones who consider our clan-sister poor and worthless because she is a widow — without any sons, or a brother, or without children.

When we give birth to a son, we count this as a merit and consider

ourselves better or think that we deserve more than women who did not receive a son from God Almighty. Deep down in the corner of our hearts, we actually think that we were better than others and that we therefore deserved a son.

Forgive me when I speak words that hurt, I am speaking in general and do not mean to say something about anyone in particular. It is not good to hide our wounds: when a person obviously has an illness, he needs a doctor for a consultation to diagnose the illness and to determine the right medicine.

My sisters, one thing has to penetrate deeply into our minds: to the Lord it is not important whether we have no children or many. The gate of heaven does not open sooner for a mother blessed with children than it does for those who are infertile. What is the basis of our false line of thought?

I think it is this: we recognize only one person and give him all the honor — the man. And as a result we do not have a true notion of self respect. As long as we do not give birth to a son, we think we are worthless, not a human being of full value. But that is the pagan point of view, following the line of thought of the people who do not recognize, and do not share in, the redemption of Christ.

In Genesis 1:27 it is written "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them". My sisters, we have to hold on to these words as to a guide on the way we have to go. This verse is the good message for the fight we have to launch. These words truly will make us free. These words will preserve us also from abusing the freedom we seek and from proud dissoluteness.

We want to be truly free, I said, because we want to wear the crown of being God's image — just as well as do men. And to wear that crown means: to be free. Nowhere do we read that a man is more God's image than a woman, simply because he is a man and the head of the family.

The value of both man and woman is of the same order. And this value is not founded in a fertility that elevates mankind above all other creatures, for the animals also (forgive me a thousand times) are able to be fertile. What raises us above animal-level is the fact that we are God's image — woman as well as man. Holding on to this consequently and proceeding on this witness, we have not a single reason to say that a childless mother is pitiful.

The message, however, does not count only for her who has a lot of children, it is actually even more important for her who was not able to give birth to a child. Ever since the early days, there has been a

government law in which it was written that a woman could bring an action against her husband if he intended to take a second wife on the grounds that she (the first wife) remained childless. — As far as I know, nobody has ever made use of this weapon. — Why? — According to the childless woman herself and also according to the relatives and to society, it is the good right of the husband to repudiate her. — So what? — it was her fate, wasn't it? The childless woman thinks she is to be despised in comparison with her fertile sister and therefore would not dare to say anything about it — and her relatives also would not say a word in her defense, because it is the unavoidable fate of their daughter.

This has to penetrate our minds, my sisters: as long as little bits of these thoughts are still among us, we have not yet fathomed the height, nor the depth, nor the width of the redemption which Christ brought for us women. And just as long our battle will be without meaning.

What does give us respect and regard?

The very fact that we are God's image.

When are we valuable? — When we love our neighbor as ourselves and, above all, when we love God who created us. — When we, being God's image, glorify His name with all our heart, with all our soul. Just as we express that every Sunday when we confess our faith. If a woman had ten sons, but was unco-operative as far as the Kingdom of God is concerned, what benefit would her fertility give her? If a woman remained unmarried, if her shoulders did not branch², but if she glorified God through her conduct, then would not she be of more value than her fertile sister who walked the evil ways?

My sisters, I do not want to say that we are not true Christians — it is not up to me to judge about that. But I mean this: as far as the Adat is concerned, we have seen but remained blind, and hearing we did not hear. In the Batak Adat irradiated by Christianity, it is not the son who is the unbreakable tie between husband and wife, *but the love in Christ.*

We probably remember last week's sermon about Zachariah's prophecy when John was born and his father was filled with the Holy Ghost. I was shocked by the minister's explanation because I had never looked upon it in that way. Had Zachariah been filled with worldliness when the son came for whom he had not hoped any more, his praise would have sounded this way: "This is the son, who will bear my name, who will inherit my possessions, and who is the

² This is a Batak saying, meaning: if she remained infertile.

comfort of my disappointment." However, it is not written this way: Zachariah did not even mention escape from the miserable fate of dying without a son. "This child will be the herald of the Redeemer", that was his praise. Let us look closely upon Mary, who was chosen by God to bring forth the Messiah. What did she say when the angel Gabriel descended to her? "Behold the handmaid of the Lord..." She was not proud of her chosen motherhood — "The handmaid of the Lord" — that was the only thing she said.

Whether blessed with children or childless, the only really important thing is whether we are willing to be but the handmaid of the Lord.

We Christian women, we refuse to be used by the Adat as a tool for the enlargement of our tribe. We are free people, redeemed by Christ. We do not want to be tools used by men, since we are now to be handmaids of the Lord, to praise His name, to do His will, and to expand His Kingdom.

This makes us worthwhile — this is an honor above all things which cannot be taken from us by anyone.

MARTIN J. HEINECKEN

Freedom and the Gospel on the American Scene

"Freedom" is still the most magic of words in the American vocabulary. The average American involuntarily associates "America" and "freedom". At the sight of the "star-spangled banner" he squares his shoulders and his breath comes faster. The Statue of Liberty still stands as a beacon beckoning to the oppressed of other shores, even though selfish fears of a lowering of the standard of living belie the genuineness of the invitation. Certainly all but the most jingoistic patriots recognize the other factors that were involved in our wars, but in each one of them what stirred up the popular enthusiasm was the ideal of freedom and the desire to safeguard liberty for ourselves and others. Even today we see it as our messianic mission to spread freedom to the rest of the world.

It is sometimes difficult to determine precisely just what constitutes the "American way of life", but it may be said to include the following main aspects:

First of all there is the notion of the *equal dignity and worth* of all people, regardless of sex, color, race, class. Every American is thoroughly imbued with these opening phrases of the Declaration of Independence, "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness". Regardless of what the basis for this declaration may be, even if it did grow, in part at least, out of the deism and agnosticism of the Enlightenment, nevertheless it is there, and it has had tremendous consequences. It led eventually to the freeing of the slaves and has now issued in the Supreme Court decision against segregation in the public schools. This decision is an instance where the secular authority is far in advance of the actual practice in the churches. It is said, with a great measure of justification, that the only place where the negro will not be welcome will soon be the respectable, middle-class, white church.

The words of the Declaration continue to be the constant thorn in the flesh pricking against every kind of inequality, whether it be

economic slavery or social snobbery. To be sure, we also have our class distinctions based sometimes on the status of the pocket book, sometimes on having attended the right "Ivy League" schools (Harvard, Yale, Princeton, etc.); but these are admittedly un-American and are constantly held up to scorn and ridicule. Equality also means equality before the law. Every man is entitled to his day in court. Though there is a tremendous lag in the courts and "speedy justice" is in great part a fiction, yet the ideal is there, and there are constant efforts at reform.

Furthermore, the American way of life involves the *notion of democracy*, in the sense of representative government and the franchise for all who do not forfeit their right by flouting the laws. It affirms that no one dare arbitrarily usurp power and that rulers govern only by the consent of the governed and only as long as they demonstrate their ability really to govern. Whatever may be said about what is, from the Christian orientation, a faulty derivation of government from some kind of a "social contract" instead of its being seen as one of God's beneficent "orders of creation", nevertheless the consent of the governed remains as a safeguard against tyranny. If a government no longer governs, that is to say, if it no longer administers justice (the *suum cuique*), it is ripe for rebellion.

Further, the American way involves *equality of opportunity* for the development of capacities and for each person to rise to whatever level his capacities may warrant. In fact, there is now the growing realization that far more are attending the higher schools of learning than can be absorbed into the so-called learned professions and there are efforts to provide a higher level of general education for those who will not enter the professions.

Another ingredient is the *free enterprise* system, where men are free in accordance with their capacities and their initiative to develop the available natural resources and to compete with their product (whether it be some commodity or skill) in an open market. It presupposes the right to private property and of inheritance, subject only to such restrictions as are for the common good. It means freedom of contract and the right to change employment. Of course, there are tremendous evils connected with this system, cut-throat competition, the thingification of man, substitution of production for profit in the place of production for use. But there is no "laissez-faire" free enterprise, only a carefully government-regulated combination of both public and private enterprise. Moreover, it is surprising what has been done to alleviate the tension between labor and management. "Nothing illustrates more starkly the force of

myths than the way in which men of the Left in Europe have ignored the transformation that has come about in American industrial society. Wedded as they are to their belief that the United States is an advanced case of monopoly capitalism, they have, it seems, taken few opportunities to study, scientifically and objectively, the concrete facts of the American economic system. The transformation of labour-management relations, the growth of bonus, productivity, and profit-sharing schemes, the experiments in industrial self-government and even private collective ownership — all these are virtually unknown outside America. Yet added together, they amount so something very close to a revolution" (Barbara Ward, *Faith and Freedom*, Hamish Hamilton: London, 1954, p. 199).

There is also *freedom of religion*. The Founding Fathers saw very clearly that religion could not be coerced. So James Madison adamantly and eloquently opposed a bill introduced into the Virginia Legislature (1784) for the purpose of establishing teachers of religion with the argument, "Because we hold it for a fundamental and undeniable truth, that Religion or the duty which we owe to our Creator and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence. The Religion then of every man must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man; and it is the right of every man to exercise it as these may dictate. This right is in its nature an unalienable right" (Quoted in Bronstein and Schulweiss, *Approaches to the Philosophy of Religion*, Prentice-Hall: New York, 1954, p. 402).

However, in the American public school system with its supposed absence of religious instruction, a religion has actually been inculcated. Democracy itself (under the aegis of John Dewey) has been taught as the American religion, thus violating the principle of religious freedom. It is, moreover, true that freedom of religion results in a Babel of cults that positively staggers the imagination, from "Father Divine" and "Father Grace" competing for divinity to lispng child evangelists. Yet all these miscarriages do not abrogate the principle. The Christian Gospel can only be proclaimed and the call to decision made in the midst of rival claims.

The American way of life is unthinkable without *freedom of speech*. The other freedoms fall to the ground if there is not the freedom of each individual to speak the truth as he sees it. This is the most crucial point and the moment a totalitarian government denies freedom of speech all possibility of peaceful reform is cut off. Of course, it does not include the right to slander, to calumniate, to falsify the truth, and no government can tolerate open advocacy of

its violent overthrow without ceasing to be a government and giving up its "power of the sword". It cannot, however, presume to maintain itself by curtailing freedom of speech, controlling the press, the radio and other media of communication. It is at this point that the American heritage of freedom is being most seriously threatened because of the fear of subversion.

As a result of its heritage of freedom there is thus a *freedom of social intercourse* and a seeming lack of respect that must amaze every visitor from more conservative shores, just as every American is amazed at all the foreign bowings and scrapings. The relation between parents and their children, teachers and pupils, employers and employees, pastors and parishioners is one of easy "camaraderie", where everyone up to President "Ike" is called by his first name. This issues to be sure very often in the greatest disrespect and much could be said about the failure to recognize "authority" as the order *given* by a benevolent Creator in which all men inevitably are, but it has this to commend it: it is never a mere uniform or a title or a backward (clerical) collar or even the size of a man's bank-roll which commands respect. A man must earn what respect he gets by what he is and not simply because of his position. Parents, teachers, the bishops of the church, even the president, no one is immune from well-deserved taunts and jeers. A good sense of humor is also a sign of health at this point. Nevertheless, we are increasingly aware, too, of the danger of disrespect and realize that a culture is threatened when the sleek appearance of the time server with the empty head, the cold heart, the grasping hand is preferred by a muddle-headed populace to the warm heart, the helping hand and prophetic vision of the prophet with the ridiculous bald head and the slovenly, spotted vest.

There is thus no question about America's heritage of freedom and the leadership that has been thrust upon her to bring this freedom also to the rest of the world. She has championed the famous four freedoms which have been incorporated into the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" of the United Nations: "... a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people. . . ." About freedom of speech and belief enough has been said above. Freedom from fear refers to the setting up of an international order which will set men free from the fear of global war and the threat of the annihilation of civilization. Freedom from want has to do with a stable economic order which will more equitably distribute natural resources and the goods necessary for

human life, which are now being so prodigally plundered. Men are to be freed from the fear of periodic depressions and unemployment.

Undoubtedly, America's *technical proficiency* and the higher standard of living this guarantees make a real contribution to human freedom. A look at the advertisements in any magazine, such as, e. g., *Better Homes and Gardens*, or *Good Housekeeping*, shows the vast possibilities open to the life of ordinary people. It isn't only that we have gadgets, but it is the fact that we have a method of research in which thousands are engaged that makes it really only a question of time until any desired product is synthetically produced. The method of the natural sciences aims at prediction and control, and it has been so phenomenally successful in such an incredibly short period when measured against the whole span of time during which there has been life on our planet that only a fool would dare set limits to its possibilities. When compared to the primitive crouching in his cave at the mercy of a capricious environment, modern man, in spite of what needs still to be said about the absolute limitations that restrict him, has come a long way on the road to "freedom". It is no wonder if men are obsessed with the "sacred cow" of science and that the scientists are the shamans to whom men turn in every need. Why should not the method that has been so successful in one area be expanded to control all areas of life apparently governed by the same uniformities? Why should not the scientific psychologist, psychiatrist, sociologist replace the prophet and the priest in the re-shaping of mankind nearer the heart's desire?

But the very organization of modern science threatens human freedom most seriously, so much so that, having turned the world into a determined and controllable process, it seems an affront to suggest any area of freedom. "When one turns to the magnificent edifice of the physical sciences and sees how it was reared; what thousands of disinterested moral lives of men lie buried in its mere foundations; what patience and postponement, what choking down of preference, what submission to the icy laws of outer fact are wrought into its very stone and mortar; how absolutely impersonal it stands in its vast augustness, — then how besotted and contemptible seems every little sentimentalist who comes blowing his voluntary smoke-wreaths, and pretending to decide things from out his private dream! Can we wonder if those bred in the rugged and manly school of science should feel like spewing such subjectivism out of their mouths? The whole system of loyalties which grew up in the schools of science goes dead against its toleration; so that it is only natural that those who have caught the scientific fever should pass

over to the opposite extreme, and write sometimes as if the incorruptibly truthful intellect ought positively to prefer bitterness and unacceptableness to the heart in its cup." (Wm James, *The Will to Believe*, Longmans Green & Co: New York, 1927, p. 7).

This, too, is part of the American scene, as indeed it is of the world, this honest recognition of determinism, coupled at the same time, inconsistently enough, with the great dream of a world of liberty, equality, and abundance for all. Our history has left us with the problem of either accepting this strange paradox of personal freedom and Scientific determinism of our world, or of finding a solution to it. But what solution is possible?

This situation, more acute in America than elsewhere, though all nations have to face it, may help to explain the "mood of despair" and of "nihilism", that exists in terrifying measure, all the more striking because of the contrast between the material prosperity and the inner frustrations. It is not so much in the homes of the poor that this "misery" exists, for there the struggle for existence consumes all the energies; but it is primarily in "suburbia" and among those who have all the advantages. For this there is sufficient evidence in our literature, our novels, our plays. As Paul Tillich insists, the main problem today, even here in the United States, is "meaninglessness" and the fact that with all their technological advancements men are unable to deal with the basic insecurity of life, with the tragedy of it, with guilt, with loneliness, with the proper relations between man and man, with the inevitability of death. Here are the areas where man is really, absolutely helpless, where all his frantic efforts are useless, where his technological achievements and his fine brains are no help whatsoever. Here there is no help except in the living God; not any God, not ideals of beauty, truth, and goodness shining in the sky to man's despair, not a helpless, well-meaning but hamstrung, immanent "power that makes for righteousness", or abstract "principle of concretion", but only the sovereign God of omnipotent love, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, "who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven".

This may account for the present phenomenal "return to religion". Home missionaries find it almost too easy to "gather in" a congregation and they cannot be sure what these eager searchers are really after, for it is often difficult to draw a clear line between serious faith in the Gospel and "religiosity", which consists of techniques of manipulating God to one's own ends, of faith in one's own faith. Where effective techniques of visitation evangelism are employed, fantastic results are achieved. The most popular religious book is

Norman Vincent Peale's *The Power of Positive Thinking*, which has sold well over a million copies and has added a new expression to the American vocabulary. In addition to his reading public this high priest of the "religious aspirin" cult reaches an even wider audience in his TV programs and his personal appearances from coast to coast. (See the article by Paul M. Hutchinson, editor of *The Christian Century*, in the April 11, 1955, issue of *Life* magazine, entitled, "Has the US discovered a new religion".) The sum and substance of all Mr. Peale's preaching is that acceptance of the teachings of Jesus and thus taking a positive, confident rather than negative approach to life will make you successful and happy. His sermons consist for the most part of recitations of case histories of people who were at the end of their ropes and made a tremendous come-back the moment they accepted Jesus' positive philosophy of life.

A "return to religion" is, therefore, a dubious advance. It may mean an escape into superstition and a refuge into the worst kind of idolatry. The "return to religion" is an indication, however, that secularism (defined as the recognition of only one visible, tangible world in space and time and the denial of all "transcendents") does not satisfy men. They invariably seek refuge somewhere. But they also try to walk the easiest path, grasping at that which promises in three easy lessons to fulfil their hearts' desire, at a "popular" Gospel without the "offense" of the real Gospel, at the popular Messiah who is precisely the kind of Messiah Jesus refused to be when instead of fulfilling men's clamorings he went to Jerusalem to suffer and to die. And yet, the Christian Church must ask itself what it is which makes men turn from the Christ who called all the weary and heavy laden and promised them rest to these false Christs.

If, therefore, men are to find real refuge in the Gospel there must, first of all, be an awareness of the true nature of their bondage. It is at this point that there seems the greatest darkness. It is here that the illusions of American prosperity and the success of the method of the natural sciences set up a smoke screen and obscure the absolute barriers to man's freedom. What is needed, therefore, is an analysis of the human situation that will show the absolute barriers to human freedom at all times and reveal the true bondage from which men can "in no wise set themselves free", in the twentieth century no more than in the first. What does it mean to exist not only within the limitations of finitude, but what does it mean to exist before the living God? It is not a question of what "fears" the threat of Communism and the prospect of technical annihilation will put into men's hearts in order to make them "return to religion" as a refuge, nor of

repeating the often-heard phrase that our cherished civil liberties or our high standard of living can only be preserved by a "return to religion". In this way we would identify Christianity with the "American way of life" and utterly confuse the law and the Gospel.

Just a few indications of the difficulties faced in proclaiming the absolute barriers to "freedom" to an American audience that refuses to take them seriously, that refuses, e. g., to face its own *absolute* helplessness in the face of the grim fact of *death*. That is why we have our barbarous funeral customs with marble mausoleums, sealed against the worms, with their illusory guarantee to outlast the sure ravages of time. That is why we have cemeteries which promise "perpetual care", which actually scarcely exceeds one generation. That is why we "pretty up" the corpses and smother them with flowers, all because we do not face the last bitter foe for what he really is. That is why there are sentimental movies about the dead returning as "guardian angels" to make amends for what they failed to do in their life-time. That is why the reasonable view of "the immortality of the soul" has quite generally replaced "faith" in the scandal of the "resurrection", so much so that even "Lutherans" regard it as arch-heresy to deny immortality and a disembodied intermediate state in which the individual, isolated soul enjoys some preliminary state of pseudo-blessedness apart from the fulfilled community. In some sense man means to have life in and out of himself which will carry him beyond death.

But there is an absolute barrier not only in "death" but in a much more general "insecurity". The vast increase in power over the forces of nature has not made life secure. Every advance brings its corresponding hazards. No matter what the insurance actuaries say about the increase in life expectancy, any moment may nevertheless be a man's last. There are all the hazards of modern living, the increase of heart ailments, cancer, leukemia, etc. That man's situation is perennially and irremediably insecure in the very nature of existence and that unless there is a God "whose eye is on the sparrow" man can only despair, either in defiant revolt or in weak submission, needs somehow to be made clear.

There is also the predicament of "guilt" and here it is above all that so many things conspire against the realization that all men are in bondage and that even the Christian remains in bondage. A few years ago Theodore O. Wedel wrote a little book called *The Christianity of Main Street* (Macmillan: New York, 1950) in which he characterized the average American church-goer's religion as one of moral idealism without any real doctrinal foundations. We have raised up

a generation of religious illiterates. It is, after all, not what you believe that matters, but what you do. This seems typically American. If you are tolerably kind and generous, if you fulfil your duties as a respectable citizen, if you are faithful to your wife and family, a tolerably good provider, then you are, of course, a "Christian", even if you happen to go to a synagogue. Of course, you are not perfect and you fall short of the ideal, but this is only natural and a kind and benevolent heavenly father takes this into account and "forgives", on the basis that at least you have made a "good try".

Although in most Lutheran churches the service begins with the confession of sins and the word of absolution, there seem to be few who realize why the whole Christian life, its peace, its joy, its effectiveness in serving the fellowman, depends upon this liberating word of forgiveness: "Where there is forgiveness of sins there is life and salvation." That a man can neither know the good (i. e. the agape of God) out of himself, nor find the strength to do it is not recognized, because men do not see themselves in their total orientation as in the wrong relation both to God and to fellowmen. They do not recognize that they *are* sinners in their lack of complete trust in God and their absolute dependence upon his grace and their lack of unselfish love (agape) for the neighbor. Sin is only the breach of a moral code and, therefore, men sin only on occasion. That they *are* sinners in everything they do and remain sinners even after becoming Christians is a bondage not recognized. Luther's "simul justus et peccator" is one of the least understood of the doctrines of the Reformation, and popular preaching too easily speaks of the God of the Old Testament and His wrath as superseded by the God of the New, who is altogether love. That God Himself in His love is alone sufficient to conquer His own wrath is dismissed as nonsensical contradiction.

There is also a quite general popular rejection as a vestige of superstition of belief in the devil. This is on a par with believing in hob-goblins and witches. That there is a mystery of the "evil one", who is opposed to the will of God and "who would not let us hallow God's name nor let his kingdom come" strikes no responsive chord. Within one generation a profound change has taken place. It was not long ago that German students who came to this country were amazed at the unsophistication of the American students who still believed in a devil. Now it is just the reverse, and those who come here are amazed at how one can still be so naive as not to believe in a devil. In informed theological circles it is different, of course, and there is a growing appreciation of this mystery of the Evil One and the victory won over him in the Cross of Christ; but this has not

penetrated to the popular mind. There is only the confused awareness that something in the world is desperately wrong.

What is therefore most urgently needed is an honest evaluation of all the various forces and their bearing on human life; and a clear distinction between the relative and the absolute bondage in which we live will help our country's leading brains as well as the man in the street to return to a new realism instead of being tossed between high hopes and deadly fears. In the structure of such a realism, the Gospel of the freedom in Christ, or freedom from death and guilt will once again become meaningful. We should, however, also be aware of the danger that this Gospel can easily be misused as an escape from the necessary struggle for our earthly liberties which, however limited and relative, stand in direct and well founded relationship to the absolute freedom which only God can grant us.

We may trust the world into which God has sent us because it is the world which He loves, into which He sent His son, in which the living risen Christ is present in Word and Sacrament and incorporates men into His Body. We have no reason to make men despair of the fruit of their toil, but we have to remind them constantly, however unwilling they may be to listen to this offensive Gospel, that they cannot climb up the ladder of salvation. The direction is altogether down from God to man and out in service to the neighbor. Men who really trust God's love become the open channels for that love to flow out to the neighbor in forgiveness, in openness, in understanding, in help with whatever gifts have been entrusted to them. Thus the Christians of today can perform their priestly task by bringing the freedom of God to modern mankind with its hopes and fears. To proclaim this freedom is not a confusion of the Gospel with a liberal way of life, but the mission which is put on the Church by her Lord, who sends His disciples into all the world to preach the Gospel to all nations.

Christians believe that with the coming of Christ a new aeon has begun. It is true that this new aeon does not do away with the old. As individuals remain "*simul justus et peccator*", so the old aeon in which the "prince of this world" holds sway will continue to run concurrently with the new aeon until the end of time. The human situation in existence, calling for decision, for rebirth and for deliverance from the kingdom of darkness into that of light will always remain essentially the same. There can, therefore, be no progressive evolution out of the bondage from which only Christ can set free. A "theology of glory" is not to be substituted for a "theology of the cross". Yet the full implications of the fact that the new aeon has

already begun need to be positively and aggressively developed. The phenomenal triumphs of the method of the natural sciences open up undreamed-of possibilities for *good* as well as for *evil*, as we are so keenly aware. Part of true freedom in Christ, therefore, should surely mean the development of those structures of grace which will counteract the tremendous disintegrating forces. Without attempting to revive the earlier optimistic faith in progress there should nevertheless be "faith" in the power of God to work wonders.

REIDAR THOMTE

Kierkegaard in American Religious Thought

Søren Kierkegaard first became known to American theologians through the crisis-theology of Karl Barth and Emil Brunner. From Kierkegaard Barth learned the absolute qualitative difference between the temporal and the eternal and the absolute distance which separates sinful man from God. From Kierkegaard he also learned the inadequacy of an intellectual approach to God. But American readers are no longer dependent only upon interpreters of Kierkegaard. During the last twenty years all of Kierkegaard's major works have been translated into English. These translations, however, are badly in need of revision, and in many cases they suffer from lack of a uniform terminology. In spite of these deficiencies the articles on Kierkegaard in philosophical and theological journals have multiplied during the last fifteen years. These articles have generally been of an introductory nature, but there have also been some problem studies in the fields of philosophy and theology. Most of the articles have appeared in non-Lutheran publications. At the present time, Kierkegaard's contribution to religious thought in America is recognized not only by Protestant, but also by Catholic and Jewish religious thinkers. Many regard Kierkegaard as the outstanding genius of the nineteenth century and as the profoundest Christian thinker since Luther. Thus Reinhold Niebuhr speaks of him as "the greatest of Christian psychologists"¹, and Richard H. Popkin suggests that he may be the most original thinker of modern times².

In his book, *The Mind of Kierkegaard*, the Catholic philosopher James Collins states that Kierkegaard "was neither a philosopher nor a theologian but belonged to the borderline category of 'the religious thinker'"³. This estimate is justified. Kierkegaard abjured philosophical systems, but he also raised issues that are pertinent to present day philosophical study. He has profoundly influenced the

¹ Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, C. Scribner's Sons: New York, 1947, Vol. I, p. 45.

² "Hume and Kierkegaard", *Journal of Religion*, University of Chicago Press, XXXI, pp. 274 ff.

³ James Collins, *The Mind of Kierkegaard*, Henry Regnery Co.: Chicago, 1953, p. ix.

philosophical thought of Heidegger and Jaspers, as well as the French school of existentialism. But "the entire literary production of Kierkegaard is", according to Collins, "motivated by the intent of bringing men into a religious relationship with God"⁴.

One thing which makes Kierkegaard's thought relevant today is his analysis of anxiety or dread. Rollo May, in *The Meaning of Anxiety*, points out that the central problem in psychotherapy is the nature of anxiety. But anxiety is not merely a phenomenon of maladjustment. Men and women of today live in an age of anxiety. "If one penetrates below the surface of political, economic, business, professional, or domestic crises to discover their psychological causes, or if one seeks to understand modern art or poetry or philosophy or religion, one runs athwart the problem of anxiety at almost every turn."⁵ W. H. Auden entitled one of his poems *The Age of Anxiety*. He maintains that the title is descriptive of our age. He finds the sources of our anxiety in certain basic trends in our culture, one of which is "the pressure toward conformity which occurs in a world where commercial and mechanical values are apotheosized"⁶. The French existentialist, Albert Camus, speaks of our age as 'the century of fear'. Rollo May suggests that Kierkegaard and Freud are the only authors who have attempted in book form to present an objective picture of anxiety and to indicate constructive methods of dealing with it. According to Kierkegaard, anxiety (dread) is an emotion without a specific object, anxiety (dread) is the fear of nothingness⁷. Furthermore, anxiety (dread) is inherent in human personality: "Just as the physician might say that there lives perhaps not one single man who is in perfect health, so one might say perhaps that there lives not one single man who after all is not to some extent in despair, in whose inmost parts there does not dwell a disquietude, a perturbation, a discord, an anxious dread of an unknown something, or of a something he does not even dare to make acquaintance with, dread of a possibility of life, or, dread of himself."⁸

According to Eliseo Vivas "the need to deny the value of the unburdened life" is something which runs through the history of western thought from Plato's *Phaedo*, the *Kohleth*, and to the present time, but Kierkegaard and Kafka made it central to the human spirit. Following Kierkegaard he finds that the anguish is due

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

⁵ Rollo May, *The Meaning of Anxiety*, Ronald Press: New York, 1950, p. v.

⁶ Quoted by May, *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷ Søren Kierkegaard, *The Concept of Dread*, W. Lowrie, transl., Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1944, p. 39.

⁸ Søren Kierkegaard, *The Sickness unto Death*, W. Lowrie, transl., Princeton, 1941, p. 32.

to the fact that man's freedom is not complete⁹. The British author, Conrad Bonifazi, in a comparative study of Kierkegaard and Nietzsche, maintains that the pertinence of Kierkegaard for our age is due to his analysis of despair and to his emphasis upon the individual. The latter serves as a defense of the person against a socialism without God, but it also focusses the attention upon the individual as "the constituent cell of the Body of Christ"¹⁰. But it is not only through the analysis of anxiety and the emphasis upon the individual that Kierkegaard has influenced American religious thought. His existential thinking and emphasis upon the paradox have been brought into focus by Paul Tillich. In an analysis of Tillich's role in contemporary theology Walter M. Horton states that on the apologetic side of his thought Tillich is indebted to Kierkegaard's existential philosophy, and on the kerygmatic side he is indebted to Kierkegaard's doctrine of the paradox. But then Horton adds that Tillich, by correlating these two, point by point, "gives his thought a rational comprehensiveness unknown to Kierkegaard and impossible for Barth"¹¹. Tillich defines existential as "what characterizes our real existence in all its concreteness, in all its accidental elements, in its freedom and responsibility, in its failure and in its separation from its true and essential being"¹². Tillich rejects Kierkegaard's aloofness to the concerns of cultural and social life and regards this as a bourgeois retreat into subjectivity. But he takes a positive attitude toward Kierkegaard's powerful dialectic between the finite and the infinite, his distinction between existence and essence, his emphasis on anxiety and despair of merely autonomous freedom, and his rejection of the detached spectator attitude of academic philosophy. Tillich stresses the passionate character of all existential thinking¹³.

According to Niebuhr, Kierkegaard's interpretation of human selfhood is superior to that of any modern and possibly to that of any previous Christian theologian, and he adds that Kierkegaard's analysis of anxiety is the most profound in Christian thought¹⁴. Kierkegaard's view of the self is excellently expressed in the following quotation from *The Sickness unto Death*: "The determining factor in the self is consciousness, i. e., self-consciousness. The more consciousness the more self; the more consciousness the more will, the

⁹ Eliseo Vivas, *The Moral Life and the Ethical Life*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1950, pp. 87.

¹⁰ Conrad Bonifazi, *Christendom Attacked*, Rockcliff: London, 1953, p. 172 f.

¹¹ Charles W. Kegley and Robert W. Bretall, ed., *The Theology of Paul Tillich*, Macmillan: New York, 1952, p. 31.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 88.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

¹⁴ Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, pp. 171, 182.

more will the more self. . . The self is the conscious synthesis of infinitude and finitude which is related to itself, and whose task is to become itself, a task which can be realized only in relation to God. To become oneself is to become concrete. But to become concrete means neither to become finite nor infinite, for that which is to become concrete is after all a synthesis. Therefore the development must be: infinitely to move away from oneself in the infinitizing of the self, and infinitely to return to oneself in the finitizing of the self."¹⁵

Following Kierkegaard, Niebuhr maintains that the individual is a creature of infinite possibilities which cannot be realized within the terms of temporal existence. On the other hand, man's salvation never means the annihilation of his finitude or creatureliness and absorption in the divine. Even in the highest reaches of self-consciousness the self remains finite and never escapes being involved in the relativities of temporal existence¹⁶.

Niebuhr makes anxiety the central concept of his doctrine of man. Every act of man whether creative or destructive involves an element of anxiety. Anxiety is due to the fact that man is both free and bound, both finite and infinite. Anxiety is the inevitable concomitant of the paradox of freedom and finiteness. Kierkegaard regards anxiety or dread as an expression for the perfection of human nature¹⁷.

In order to unravel the problem of sin, Niebuhr appeals to Kierkegaard who maintained that sin is neither an accident nor the result of necessity. The anomaly of this is explained by the relation of sin to anxiety or dread.

Kierkegaard calls attention to the paradoxical nature of inherited sin and points out that the dogma is formed by two qualitatively different categories, 'to inherit' which is a biological category, and 'guilt' which is an ethical category. Sin is its own presupposition, and the only possible account of its origin is: sin entered into the world through sin. While this statement has a special reference to Adam, Kierkegaard maintains that it is equally true of every other individual. Every man has had a state of innocence analogous to Adam's. "As Adam lost innocence by guilt, so does every man lose it, if it was not by guilt he lost it, neither was it innocence he lost; and *if he was not innocent before he became guilty, he never became guilty.*"¹⁸

¹⁵ Kierkegaard, my translation, cf. *The Sickness Unto Death*, pp. 43-44.

¹⁶ Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

¹⁷ Kierkegaard, *The Concept of Dread*, p. 65.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32. My underscoring.

While the fall of man has special reference to Adam it is also an *actus perpetuus*. The reproduction of sin in the race is an expression of its continuity in the human race.

Niebuhr states that the doctrine of original sin is logically absurd but psychologically profound. Original sin, which by definition is inherited, is not to be regarded as belonging to man's essential nature, and hence it is not outside the realm of his responsibility. "Sin is natural for man in the sense that it is universal, but not in the sense that it is necessary."¹⁹ Kierkegaard's explanation of the dialectical relation of freedom and fate in sin is, according to Niebuhr, one of the profoundest in Christian thought. The following quotation is taken from *The Concept of Dread*.

"The concept of guilt and sin does not in its profoundest sense emerge in paganism. If it had emerged, paganism would have been destroyed by the contradiction that man became guilty by fate. This is indeed the supreme contradiction, and in this contradiction Christianity breaks forth. . . . The concept of guilt and sin posits precisely the individual as the individual. *There is no question of a relation to the whole world or to everything that is past.* His only concern is that he is guilty, and he has become guilty through fate, the very fate about which there is no concern. He has become something which annuls the concept of fate, and this he became through fate. If this concept is wrongly understood, it gives a false concept of original sin. Rightly understood it leads to a true concept, to the idea that every individual is himself and the race, and that *the later individual is not essentially different* from the first. In the possibility of dread freedom succumbs, overwhelmed by fate, yet now it arises in its actuality, but with the explanation that it has become guilty."²⁰

Kierkegaard speaks of anxiety or dread as the psychological state which precedes sin. While it is fearfully near to sin, it is not an explanation of sin. Sin breaks forth in a qualitative leap. Guilt is neither an accident nor by necessity. Niebuhr similarly maintains that anxiety is the internal precondition of sin or the internal description of the state of temptation, but it must never be identified with sin, since there is always "the ideal possibility that faith would purge anxiety from the tendency toward sinful self-assertion. Anxiety is not only the precondition for sin, it is the very basis of all human creativity"²¹. Both men agree that man does not know himself truly except as confronted by God. It is in that confrontation he

¹⁹ Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

²⁰ Kierkegaard, *The Concept of Dread*, pp. 87-88.

²¹ Niebuhr, *Ibid.*, p. 182 f.

becomes aware of his spiritual nature and of his evil, his freedom, and his finitude. "*The self is potentiated in the ratio of the measure proposed for the self, and infinitely potentiated when God is the measure. The more conception of God, the more self.*"²² Every sin is before God, and it is this which makes a man guilty and determines the quality. The pagan and the natural man do not possess the self in the face of God, but have as their measure the mere human self.

The significance of "the individual" in relation to sin is emphasized by Edwin Lewis when he says that no one is going to be much concerned about original sin or any other kind of sin except as he sees himself as a "solitary individual" standing over against the law of a holy God. "Conviction of sin is the terrorizing realization that I did what I did because of a fundamental anarchism constitutive of my very being."²³

Søren Kierkegaard raised in an acute manner the perennial problem of the relation of Christian revelation and human thought. The essential characteristic of philosophy and science is objectivity, but in this objectivity and detachment the individual has a tendency to lose the infinite personal concern which is the presupposition of faith. Kierkegaard challenged the ultimacy of scientific knowledge in matters of ethics and religion, and maintained that the most important or essential knowledge is of a subjective nature. Objective truth is equally valid whether anyone accepts it or not. It is indifferent to the special circumstances of the individual, whether it injures him or helps him, or whether he discovered it or learned it from another. It is equally valid at all times and in all circumstances. Subjective or concerned truth is not indifferent to the individual, whether he appropriates it with his whole heart, or whether it merely becomes idle words to him²⁴. "All Christian knowledge, however strict its form, ought to be anxiously concerned. Concern implies relationship to life, to the reality of personal existence."²⁵ The aloofness and indifference of objective knowledge is from the Christian point of view not seriousness but jest and vanity. Kierkegaard maintains that the objective approach to religious truth has deprived Christianity of its authority as well as emptied its terminology of its Christian meaning. Theology has regarded religious truth in the sense of an intellectual result or dogma, instead of truth as 'the way' of being.

²² Kierkegaard, *The Sickness Unto Death*, p. 129. My underscoring.

²³ Edwin Lewis, *The Philosophy of the Christian Revelation*, Harper and Bros.: New York, 1940, p. 127.

²⁴ Kierkegaard, *Edifying Discourses*, D. F. Swenson and L. M. Swenson, transl., Augsburg Publishing House: Minneapolis, 1945, vol. III., pp. 71-72.

²⁵ Kierkegaard, *The Sickness Unto Death*, p. 4.

The irrelevance of the objective approach is evident from the very nature of Christianity, "Christianity is spirit, spirit is inwardness, inwardness is subjectivity, and in its maximum an infinite, personal, passionate interest in one's eternal happiness."²⁶ Such an interest is altogether incommensurate with objective scientific knowledge. As Paul S. Minear points out, the objective study "confuses the situation by transposing problems of life into problems of thought, by abstracting conceptual ideas from their origin in personal living"²⁷. The Christian Gospel, by virtue of its very nature, cannot be comprehended within rational and logical categories. While human reason can deal with the scientific truths of the material world, it cannot comprehend the religious truths of incarnation, revelation, redemption, and regeneration. These truths can only be believed through a decision or leap of faith which arises out of a despair of any possibility of self-redemption. Rational attempts of arriving at Christianity can at the best produce a naturalistic or humanistic theism.

Kierkegaard denounced all apologetics of a defensive nature as a betrayal of Christianity. The objective proofs of Christianity, whether based upon the Bible, the Church, or the centuries of Christian history, rest upon a complete misunderstanding of what Christianity is. Furthermore, it is the fallacious assumption of defensive apologetics that when the truth is objectively brought to light, the appropriation will follow as a matter of course. On the contrary, since objectivity involves detachment, it follows that the more objective a person becomes, the less he is possessed by an infinite passionate interest. Says Kierkegaard, "Supposing that we continue in this manner to prove, and to seek the proof of the truth of Christianity, the remarkable phenomenon would finally emerge that, just when the proof for its truth had become completely realized, it would have ceased to exist as a present fact"²⁸. Kierkegaard cut Christianity loose from all historical and intellectual inquiry and made it a matter of passionate appropriation by faith — a faith which is absurd to human reason.

In the realm of ethics several American writers have been influenced by Kierkegaard. Eliseo Vivas' *The Moral Life and the Ethical Life* contains frequent references to Kierkegaard. He read Kierkegaard passionately in the late thirties and learned from him the importance of the concept of the 'crisis' for the completion of

²⁶ Kierkegaard, *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, D. F. Swenson and W. Lowrie, transl., Princeton, 1941, p. 33.

²⁷ Paul S. Minear, *The Eyes of Faith*, Westminster Press: Philadelphia, 1946, p. 3.

²⁸ Kierkegaard, *Postscript*, p. 32.

human experience. His book is probably the most sustained criticism of naturalistic moral philosophy. In a brief introduction to Christian ethics, *Power for Action*, William A. Spurrier acknowledges his debts to Reinhold Niebuhr, Kierkegaard, and others. The influence of Kierkegaard is noticeable in his doctrine of man with its emphasis upon the tensions of life.

The American writer in the field of ethics in whom Kierkegaard's influence is most dominant is Paul Ramsey. In comparing modern existentialism and Kierkegaard he states that for Kierkegaard fear, trembling, dread, despair, man's finiteness and approaching death — all of which are emphasized in atheistic existentialism — are not the chief problem of human existence. For him the chief problem is sin. For Kierkegaard the final form of despair is despair over the forgiveness of sin, an aspect of theological anthropology for which contemporary existentialism has no awareness. Ramsey maintains that a Christian ethics is an ethics of the leap — the leap of faith. Idealistic ethics, on the other hand, is an ethics of self-realization in which there is no leap. "Christian love comes into existence only by a 'leap' which carries a man beyond all enlightened self-interest, beyond all intentional concern for self-realization, beyond the mixture of motives in pursuit of some common good; a leap which breaks entirely through the circle of the self, . . . a leap which is so self-effacing that one manages to care for another for his own sake alone and not for some ulterior purpose."²⁹

In dealing with the commandment to love the neighbor as thyself, Ramsey refers to Kierkegaard's words: "When the 'as thyself' of the commandment has taken from you the selfishness which Christianity, sad to say, must presuppose as existing in every human being, then you have rightly learned to love yourself. Hence the law is: 'You shall love yourself as you love your neighbor when you love him as yourself.'"³⁰ Friendship grounded in selfish considerations of utility or in mutual love of 'the good' is subject to change whenever the friend changes, but Christian love, as Kierkegaard points out "grants the beloved all his imperfections and weakness, and *in all his changes abides with him*, loving the man it sees".³¹

In dealing with the problem of sin Ramsey maintains that the idea of sin is not a conclusion derived by an analysis of the capacities and propensities within human nature, but "a conclusion to which Christian thought is forced from viewing man in the light of God. . . . At the

²⁹ Paul Ramsey, *Basic Christian Ethics*, Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1950, pp. 101-102.

³⁰ Kierkegaard, *Works of Love*, D. F. Swenson and L. M. Swenson, transl., Princeton: 1946, p. 20.

³¹ Kierkegaard, *Ibid.*, p. 140.

deepest level *the doctrine of sin has least to do with mankind in general and most to do with oneself in particular*"³². The Christian doctrine of sin, in being taught, is in danger of being taught unChristianly, for when an individual inquires about sin as something in general and irrelevant to him, he speaks as a fool. In the words of Kierkegaard: "How sin came into the world everyman understands by himself alone; if he would learn it from another, he *eo ipso* misunderstands."³³

Ramsey's book is intended as a first book in Christian ethics at the college and seminary level. Among the suggested collateral readings that accompany the various chapters are references to Kierkegaard's *Works of Love*, *The Concept of Dread*, and *The Sickness unto Death*.

Not only Protestant religious thought, but certain trends of Jewish thought have been influenced by Kierkegaard. This influence in Jewish thought is largely due to Martin Buber. In his book, *Judaism and the Modern Man*, Will Herberg frequently refers to Kierkegaard. In dealing with faith and existential thinking he says: "The decision of faith is beyond the abstract reason of science and philosophy because this latter type of reason, however adequate for dealing with the world of objects, is simply not capable of penetrating to the inner core of existence. For this purpose the only thinking that will serve is the thinking which is not content with the disinterested judgment of a spectator but insists on the total commitment of a personality, the thinking which is inner and concrete rather than outward and abstract, concerned rather than detached; the thinking that seeks not to discover external facts or to establish universal truths but to 'make sense' of existence."³⁴ Herberg points out that only this kind of thinking can provide a grounding for the decision that is the 'leap' of faith. It must not be assumed that the existing individual is one who does not think, but his thinking is in relation to himself, and it involves decision.

In Europe, Catholic thinkers have for years been engaged in the study of Kierkegaard. They number such men as Theodor Haecker, Eric Przywara, Regis Jolivet, Cornelio Fabro, Romano Guardini, Alois Dempf, and H. Roos. The most outstanding Kierkegaard scholar among American Catholics is James Collins. He has published a series of articles on Kierkegaard in *The New Scholasticism*, and two books, *The Existentialists*, and *The Mind of Kierkegaard*. Collins informs us that Kierkegaard is beginning to attract the attention of

³² Ramsey, *op. cit.*, p. 288. My underscoring.

³³ Kierkegaard, *The Concept of Dread*, pp. 45-46.

³⁴ Will Herberg, *Judaism and the Modern Man*, Farrar, Straus, and Young: New York, 1952, p. 36.

Thomists who wish to evaluate his views from the standpoint of an existential Christian wisdom, and suggests that Catholic theologians should not be indifferent to Kierkegaard as if his position were something which only concerned Protestants. He holds that Kierkegaard's reaffirmation of the Nicene Creed, especially the articles concerning the humanity and divinity of Christ, has a peculiarly Catholic ring. He states that the task of theology is to examine the religious position of Kierkegaard in all its rich detail and depth. "Until the religious and theological traits of Kierkegaard's work have been patiently and formally studied, it will be impossible to determine precisely his import for the development of the Christian life."³⁵ With all my respect for the painstaking work of Collins, I cannot but feel that it represents an attempt to adjust and incorporate facets of Kierkegaard's thought in Thomism. It represents an attempt to find whatever is commensurate with Catholic thought.

The influence of Kierkegaard upon religious thought in America cannot be adequately measured by articles and books written about him or referring to him. Kierkegaard's works are studied in colleges, universities, and theological seminaries, and courses are offered in his philosophy and religious thought. References are constantly made to him in sermons. But among those who *use* Kierkegaard or even apply his thought to theology and ethics, there has been little discrimination of the significance of the individual works in their relationship to the entire Kierkegaardian literature, and little cognizance of Kierkegaard's pseudonymous apparatus and indirect method of communication. It is safe to say that within Protestant thought in America his influence has been most marked in Reformed theology. Although a Lutheran theologian, Jaroslav Pelikan, affirms that Kierkegaard is the first Christian philosopher to develop a critical philosophy in the truest sense of the word³⁶, Kierkegaard's influence upon Lutheran theology in America has been quite negligible. This is no doubt due to the fact that Lutheran theology in America has been imitative rather than creative and anomalies and influences from the outside have been subject to suspicion. However, the time will soon come when Kierkegaard will assume a greater significance in American Lutheran thought.

³⁵ Collins, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

³⁶ Jaroslav Pelikan, *From Luther to Kierkegaard*, Concordia Publishing House: St. Louis, 1950, p. 113.

GUNNAR HILLERDAL

Church and Politics

A Critical Discussion of Recent Research in Political Ethics

For decades now, there have been considerable differences within Evangelical theology over the basic principles of social ethics, the various points of view being most clearly defined in the doctrine of the state. The fact that no agreement on fundamental principles of political ethics was attainable has had the result that many of the directives put forward for the Christian's political action were directly contradictory.

It is difficult to trace the main lines of the particularly lively discussion on church and politics. As far as I can see, the chief front divides the theology that takes Luther's well-known doctrine of the two kingdoms or powers for its point of departure from the christological political ethic that attempts to carry out the program set up by Karl Barth in his *Church and State* (1939; original: *Rechtfertigung und Recht*, 1938). An independent third position, considerably closer, however, to the doctrine of the two kingdoms than to the christological justification of justice and the state, sets forth the development of a Christian doctrine of natural law. Emil Brunner essayed in this direction in his much-noted work *Justice and the Social Order* (1945; original: *Gerechtigkeit*, 1943). In addition, Anglican theology seems to have developed an independent tradition along the lines of natural law; within its sphere the interest in natural law may possibly be traced back to Richard Hooker's influence¹.

Finally, one should point out a fourth position whose basic ideas betray proximity to christological ethic and which has developed within Dutch theology. It evolves the idea of a theocratic and christocratic foundation for the state, and here Calvin's heritage asserts itself to a considerable extent².

¹ R. Hooker's eight-volume work *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* appeared 1594-1618 and has been used in theological instruction right up to the most recent past.

² On this cf. K. H. Miskotte's interesting lecture "Naturrecht und Theokratie", included in the volume *Die Freiheit des Evangeliums und die Ordnung der Gesellschaft*, München, 1952. Miskotte here points out the important influence exerted on Dutch theology by Ph. J. Hoedemaker (1839-1910). — The cited volume of lectures contains several other contributions of equal interest for an understanding of social ethics: K. E. Logstrup, "Lebensanschauung und Recht", E. I. F. Arndt, "Auf dem Wege zu einer evangelischen Sozialethik", and H. Schaefer, "Die orthodoxe Kirche im materialistischen Staatssystem".

In the following survey of recent research into political ethics I shall deal primarily with the first two positions since it is they that chiefly determine the current discussion and because they appear the most important to me.

Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms provides the foundation for the social ethics of Lutheranism. A large number of the contributions that have, directly or indirectly, achieved significance for the current debate over theological political ethics are historical studies that display Luther's view from various aspects. I shall, first, turn to some publications that belong to this category.

Johannes Heckel has presented an especially searching study of Luther's concept of law in his *Lex charitatis — Eine juristische Untersuchung über das Recht in der Theologie Luthers* (: a Juristical Examination of Law in Luther's Theology)³. This continues some earlier writings in which Heckel had attempted to set forth the basis of Luther's political doctrine⁴. But we are now presented with far more comprehensive material than was the case in the earlier books.

The expositions, even, that Heckel offers on the first pages of his study in the history of ideas point up the significance that is at present granted to Barth's christological ethics. For the formulation of the problems that constitute Heckel's point of departure is determined by Karl Barth's attack on Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms. Barth, so Heckel declares, "turns with justified vigor against a theology that remains satisfied with a mere coexistence of these two realms" (p. 20). Heckel now strives to demonstrate that this "gap" which, according to Barth, exists in the Reformer's teaching on political ethics, does not actually exist. Heckel's main thesis asserts that the inner affinity of temporal and spiritual authority is implied in Luther's concept of natural law. This natural law manifests itself in two different forms. "The order of law peculiar to Christ's kingdom presently exists in the divine law of nature" (p. 49). This is spiritual law, it is "nothing but divine spirit" (p. 56). It aims at the inward man, it strives for love (*caritas*) and freedom.

What then is the way in which this divine law of nature is proclaimed? "There is no formulation of a legislative idea, much less any

³ *Abhandlungen der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, new series, Nr. 36, München, 1953.

⁴ In this connection, an essay by the same author deserves attention. Entitled "Naturrecht und christliche Verantwortung im öffentlichen Leben nach der Lehre Martin Luthers", it was published in the symposium *Zur politischen Predigt*, München, 1952, which contains a number of valuable contributions to the current discussion on social ethics. The following topics are treated: J. Schattenmann, "Der Wandel der Gesellschaft seit Luther: eine Anfrage an das Luthertum"; E. Mezger, "Gerechtigkeit und soziale Ordnung in evangelischer Sicht"; Th. Heckel, "Regula aurea" (the author discusses Luther's exegesis of Matth. 7:12 and Luke 6:31); F. Leu, "Das Widerstandsrecht und seine Grenzen bei Luther und heute"; K. Doerfler, "Inhalt und Grenzen des Eldes"; K. Niedermeier, "Die Grenzen des öffentlichen Auftrages der Kirche"; H. Koch, "Zur politischen Predigt in der Sowjetunion".

written or oral particularization. Promulgation occurs in the hearts of men, by the saturation of human will with the will of God" (pp. 63 f.). The institutions of Church and matrimony reinforce the divine law of nature. This characterizes "the divine law of the *status naturae incorruptae*". But the picture presented by the original state is changed by the fall; human nature loses its "spiritual and bodily harmony", and "the spiritual law of nature encounters an opposing *wordly natural law*" (p. 71). What is essentially Christian love no longer dominates here; nevertheless it is true that love is the essence also of this profane natural law. The explanation for this is found in the fact that "even in the heart of sinful man . . . the divine will for righteousness is inscribed as a law of nature" (p. 72). Thus the temporal power also retains a connection with God. Positive law rests upon natural law which, according to Luther, found its clearest formulation thus far in the decalogue (pp. 73, 78).

The result is a two-fold law. The Christian obeys the divine law of nature which can be fulfilled in faith ever since Christ has given it new meaning and new significance. The non-Christian obeys the worldly law of nature. "Institutional human natural law" comprises "the secularized church", "secularized matrimony", as well as authority and political order. It is Heckel's conviction that the latter may be derived from the institution of matrimony. What then is the Christian's position with regard to the worldly law of nature? The fact that he is bound solely to the divine law of nature means that he is faced with demands that go far beyond the good citizenship that positive law strives for. The duty to love one's neighbor does, as a rule, include voluntary adherence to the positive law (pp. 149, 180), but under certain circumstances it may lead to refusal of obedience and to active resistance (cf. the doctrine of the "great tyrant" who must be opposed by every means; pp. 157 f., 180, 191).

These definitions which could only be very briefly indicated here, represent the answer to the initial question. "With it", so writes Heckel, "the relationship between justification and law with Luther is established. Only justified man has insight into the spiritual foundations of the worldly order of law, and recognizes them . . . And therefore only justified man has the spiritual capacity and authority to administer human law and political power in accordance with the divine law of nature, while natural man acts along the lines of the human law of nature, at best" (p. 179)!

One will gladly admit that Heckel's interpretation is extraordinarily interesting and rich in ideas. But does the interpretation that he offers seize upon the truly essential in Luther's view? I find myself obliged to

take a critical attitude here, as in my opinion, by the very organization and structure of his research, Heckel allows Luther's sayings to slant into a direction determined by the contemporary discussion of political ethics and for this reason apparently desirable.

1. Heckel assumes as a matter of course that a general inquiry into "Luther's concept of law" is equivalent to the specific question: "What concept of law is presupposed by the doctrine of justification?" (p. 19). We must therefore apprehend that with this initial definition of the problem, Heckel has already succumbed to the Barthian view and accordingly seeks to force Luther into a very definite frame. If you read "Of Secular Authority" (1523) and "Whether Soldiers, too, can be Saved" (1526), writings which constitute the basis of Luther's doctrine of the state, you may note that Luther speaks of two different forms of the law "administered" by God (*cf.* WA 19, 629, 17 ff.). "Iustitia civilis" — to use the customary term — corresponds to worldly rule and may not simply be derived from "iustitia Christi". Even stronger evidence for this is found in the later writings, especially in the interpretation of Psalm 101 (1534/35) where Luther expresses the conviction that in the course of history the non-Christians have been God's best tools for His dominion over temporal authority. This, of course, does not allow us to dismiss the question of how "iustitia civilis" is related to "iustitia christiana" or — to use a term equally employed by Luther — to "iustitia actualis". On the contrary, an answer is essential. In the past decades, Swedish theology has made important contributions towards resolving it. But the accompanying theological controversy⁵ clearly shows that Heckel is right in maintaining that the essence of the worldly law of nature, as well, is found in love. Yet we can place "iustitia civilis" on the same plane with "iustitia christiana" only on the basis of a thorough examination of Lutheran christology and doctrine of the Trinity.

2. Since Heckel allows the view of the realms to drop into the background in favor of a more or less statically understood dualism opposing "Christ's kingdom" to "the world", he is unable to incorporate into his scheme those sayings of Luther that connect "natural justice" and "natural law" with God's ceaselessly continuing creation. We encounter such ideas, for instance, in Luther's exposition of the 101st psalm: God's new creation breaks in upon the world which, through human sin, ever perverts the right and the good; for the "lex naturae" is

⁵ *Cf.* above all the works by R. Bring, *Förhållandet mellan tro och gärningar inom luthersk teologi* (1933); H. Olsson, *Grundproblemet i Luthers socialetik* (1934); R. Johannesson, *Person och gemenskap enligt romersk-katolsk och luthersk grundåskådning* (1947); G. Wingren, *Luthers Lehre vom Beruf* (1952); G. Hillerdal, *Gehorsam gegen Gott und Menschen: Luthers Lehre von der Obrigkeit und die moderne evangelische Staatsethik* (1955).

administered by men whom God Himself has sent, by "God's heroes". A right understanding and factual account of Luther's view of the state can be achieved only if proper attention is paid to Luther's highly dynamic view of history. This thesis is underlined and supported by a number of recent studies on the theme of Luther's view of history which naturally leads them to discuss also his teaching on the state and on justice⁶.

The concept of a ceaseless process of re-creation of the world by God, so important for Luther, has another consequence: If one really intends to penetrate into the core of his ideas, he may not draw any too far-reaching conclusions from the differences between what is valid before and after the fall, for such distinctions have only very limited importance for Luther. They certainly do not constitute a recurring factor in his writings, and when they do occur, no ideas of special moment are ever tied to them. Heckel has laid excessive stress upon this distinction as appears, for instance, in his taking for granted the assumption that the essence of law is found in "partaking in divine love" (p. 70). In this manner Heckel's very point of departure alters the perspective from which Luther himself considered things and wanted them considered.

3. I cannot avoid the impression that in one important matter Heckel's work is confusing. I am referring to his very schematic division of humanity into two groups, Christians and non-Christians, which relegates to Christians a very particular importance in the shaping of the temporal law of nature. Such a division deprives the insight that the believer is ever "simul iustus et peccator", basic for Luther's theology, of any effective role.

Thus a number of weighty objections must be raised against Heckel's over-all argument. As meritorius as his study may be in its particulars, one cannot claim that it provides the last and resolving word as regards Luther's doctrine of the state and of justice.

⁶ Among the most comprehensive studies we must count Heinz Zahrnt, *Luther deutet Geschichte: Erfolg und Mißerfolg im Lichte des Evangeliums*, München, 1952; and Hans-Walter Krumwiede, *Glaube und Geschichte in der Theologie Luthers: Zur Entstehung des geschichtlichen Denkens in Deutschland*, Göttingen, 1952.

Zahrnt in his study proceeds from the "sole effectiveness of God" and is thus able to do full justice to the dynamics in Luther's view of history. A more detailed analysis of the doctrine of the two governments of God, as Luther evolved it, would have been desirable. One misses it primarily because of temporal government's significance as an expression of God's new creation. — In H. W. Krumwiede we meet with true comprehension of the motive of the struggle, that is, an accent on the fact that, according to Luther's teaching, both governments are instituted by God to combat Satan. However, his work's main concern is with the roots of historicism. Krumwiede attempts to show "what roots of later historicism are founded in his (Luther's) theology" (p. 109). However important and fascinating this question may be, it pushes the actual theological, systematic problem of Luther's concept of history into the background. — Let us finally point to the following essays on this subject: E. Thestorp Pedersen, "Schöpfung und Geschichte bei Luther", *Studia theologica*, Vol. III, Fasc. I, 1950, and G. Hillerdal, "Luther's Geschichtsauffassung" and "Prophetische Züge in Luthers Geschichtsdeutung", *Studia theologica*, Vol. VII, Fasc. I and II, 1954.

Among the more recent and significant works on Luther's view of the state we must count Franz Lau's *Luthers Lehre von den beiden Reichen* (Luther's doctrine of the two realms)⁷. In limited space — the whole book comprises merely 96, though closely printed, pages — we are here presented with a clearly worded and delicately balanced account of Luther's teaching on political authority and its relation to the proclamation of the Gospel. We may say of this skilful study that it continues and, in some point, rectifies the interpretation offered by Lau in his "*Äußerlich Ordnung*" und "*Weltlich Ding*" in *Luthers Theologie* ("External Order" and "Worldly Matter" in Luther's Theology), published in 1933. Both works must be counted among the best and most fertile studies that German Luther research has produced in its attempt to elucidate the reformer's social ethics. I have no objection worth mentioning to the presentation of Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms offered by Lau. Let me stress that in his latest work Lau turns against several earlier attempts at exposition, repudiating both the interpreters who show a tendency to turn Luther into an advocate of double-standard morality or of the autonomy of the temporal order and those — as for instance Harald Diem and Gustav Törnvall — who do not always clearly distinguish between "*iustitia civilis*" and "*iustitia christiana*".

In his book's last chapter under the heading "Probleme um Luthers Zweireichelehre" (Problems concerning Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms), Lau sets forth a number of objections that have been advanced against the two-kingdom doctrine and rejects them as not actually sound. In closing he states that "the most important question" for an understanding of the total problem which still demands clarification is whether "Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms is in accord with Scripture". Without wanting to anticipate the result of such enquiry, Lau expresses the conviction that Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms represents "the best aid available to us, even today, to live our Christian life in the world where Christ has not yet set up His dominion and where other powers rule" (p. 95).

This last observation, of course, raises an issue that belongs into the area of theological ethics. In this discipline, however, different, indeed, opposed views are currently extant, as we stated at the outset. German and Swiss theologians, primarily, sought to develop a political ethic on the basis of Scripture, and they either followed in Luther's steps or, taking exception, turned against him. This contrast can be illustrated and visualized through two recent studies: on the one hand Alfred de

⁷ *Luthertum*, Vol. 8, Lutherisches Verlagshaus: Berlin, 1953.

Quervain's book *Kirche, Volk, Staat* (Church, Nation, State)⁸ and on the other Walter Künneth's extensive work *Politik zwischen Dämon und Gott — Eine christliche Ethik des Politischen* (Politics between Evil and God — a Christian Political Ethic)⁹. Künneth's book represents the most thorough effort of the post-war period thus far to set up concrete principles for an ethic in the realm of the state. For this alone it deserves special attention. Beyond that, the author, writing out of a specifically Lutheran tradition, claims to give expression to Luther's intentions with his propositions. De Quervain's work is published as the second volume of an Ethics structured after the so-called christological program. A comparison of these two works should therefore considerably benefit the comprehension of the present state of the problem.

Let us first look at the structure of Künneth's ethics. After a brief introduction, Künneth leads off with a historical section, a portion of which is devoted to an understanding of the state in the light of Scripture, especially of the New Testament, and another to the doctrine of the two kingdoms according to Luther and to the Lutheran symbolic books.

The actual systematic presentation in the second section of the work is introduced by a survey of "the basic elements of political structure". In the sections that follow, Künneth takes up the topics "The Problem of Authority (Gewalt)", "The Christian and Political Decisions", and "The Congregation of Jesus in the Political World". In the various subdivisions he carefully analyses the different aspects from which one may approach the problem of "The Christian and the State". Thus, in the third part of his work, he poses the specific question whether a Secret Police may pass for a legitimate institution of the state and whether the Christian must so recognize it; further, he discusses the no less acute problems of the death penalty, of amnesty, and also — with reference to the Nuremberg trials — the problem of the ethical significance of international criminal law. The possibility of revolution and the problem of war are discussed no less comprehensively. The fourth part begins with an enquiry into the concepts of "honor", "oath", "allegiance", and "responsibility" which Künneth characterizes as "the basic political concepts of the Christian ethos". In two sub-sections he then deals with the relationship of state polity and ethos as well as the Christian's attitude to party politics. The first section of the fifth part turns to the relationship of church and state, Künneth outlining the major types that have arisen from the encounter of these two powers in history. Among these major types he numbers the Roman Catholic

⁸ *Ethik II*, 1st half-volume, Zollikon: Zürich, 1945.

⁹ Lutherisches Verlagshaus: Berlin, 1954.

and the Reformed concept of the state. Finally, Künneth engages in a rudimentary investigation of "The political mission of the Christian congregation". Under this rubric he eventually deals with "The testimony of 'Law and Gospel' as a political approach" and "The Church's duties as political pastor and guardian".

Any estimation of Künneth's work must, of course, take account of its basic intent not only to develop the principles of political ethics on the basis of scriptural witness as the self-evident point of departure and critical norm but, beyond that, to provide concrete guidance for action. The credit that Künneth has earned with this work is undoubtedly due because he endeavored to penetrate even into the various separate questions which are brought up by the practical problems and with which every Christian is faced by life in a modern state¹⁰. Readers will all gratefully acknowledge this effort that should stimulate other undertakings of a similar nature.

Having rendered a positive evaluation from this point of view we must, however, point out that there is much in Künneth's political ethics to provoke criticism. A first critical comment could be directed even against the plan and structure of his work. For in setting himself the task of dealing with the various historically-founded views of the state, of setting forth the principles of Evangelical political ethics and, in addition, following up the latter right into its specialized issues, Künneth has embarked on an overwhelming undertaking. Despite the work's broad design — the width as such tends to be a rather questionable merit — it is liable to a certain amount of superficiality. As a rule, Künneth represents the New Testament understanding of authority and of the "powers" without particular reference to the discussion that has permeated recent exegetical research for some years. As the sole exception we might regard an allusion to several exegetes who have participated in the debate over whether the *ἐξουσίαι* in Romans 13:1 might be explained as referring to the angelic powers.

The section on Luther assembles various detached ideas that bear on the Reformation view of the state. Yet there is no real analysis of this whole area of enquiry; omitted also is any discussion of the meaning

¹⁰ Among the attempts to make use of Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms for an understanding and structuring of present-day economic, political, and social orders, we must number *Das Evangelium und die Ordnungen des öffentlichen Lebens*, Göttingen, 1952. At the hand of concrete issues — as, e. g. mass culture, property, and the problem of expellees — the importance that the Gospel and Luther's theology have for the solution of these challenges is shown. Unfortunately, E. Klügel's introductory essay, designed to sound the key-note, is not characterized by particular lucidity. — A bold attempt to work out principles for behavior in the face of acute political problems on the basis of certain theological maxims was undertaken by H. Thielicke in *Die evangelische Kirche und die Politik*, Stuttgart, 1953. However, I feel that the value of this publication is found not so much in the development of an individual point of view oriented towards Luther as in the decisive repudiation of any pseudo-prophetic attitude and of theological dilettantism in the treatment of complicated political questions of the day. This gives Thielicke's paper the character of a polemic or occasional pamphlet.

of the concepts of "ratio" and "lex naturae" which are so important to any deeper understanding of Luther's social ethics. Neo-Calvinism's doctrine of the state is dealt with by Künneth as follows: Abraham Kuyper's theocratic view is presented on two pages in the form of a report based on an essay by K. H. Miskotte; Karl Barth's view of the state is likewise reported on merely two pages while three pages are devoted to its criticism with references to W. Stapel, H. Thielicke, and others. — One may observe without great difficulty that Künneth's work has achieved its consistent unity by concentration upon his own theories.

Another question is, however, even more important than this particular criticism: does Künneth's systematic presentation rest on a sound theological foundation? I myself have sought to develop principles for an Evangelical political ethic in the face of various types of contemporary views of the state¹¹, and ever since I have been extremely critical of the way in which Künneth and some other theologians try to construct a political ethic.

Künneth begins — as do Paul Althaus and Werner Elert, two other influential Erlangen theologians — with an analysis of the concept of "order". His lengthy controversy with older representatives of this method of procedure turns out to be a mere difference in vocabulary. Künneth rejects the term "orders of creation" and prefers to speak of "orders of preservation". In setting up his political ethic he does not lay the same weight on the order of "the nation" as did Althaus and Elert, and he is therefore much closer to Luther's theological position. Nevertheless, he proceeds from the orders as such, and the "obligation to serve" which they create becomes the actual point of departure for the whole political ethic. Thus the very risk that was already apparent in the studies of Althaus and Elert is essentially retained: ethical demands are determined by an agency characterized as the claim that results from the order. But from this necessarily ensues a legalistic orientation of all ethics that does not do justice to the New Testament perspective. For, in accordance with the New Testament, the Christian who is in discipleship to Christ must carry out the works of love. Furthermore, it must be regarded as exceedingly questionable whether any ethic oriented towards the concepts of law and the orders answers Luther's intentions which Künneth, after all, apparently wants to use as a touchstone. To be sure, at times Luther does speak of "iustitia civilis" and secular power as if this were an area apart from "iustitia christiana" and canonical power; yet his understanding of vocation was

¹¹ Cf. the above-mentioned *Gehorsam gegen Gott und Menschen: Luthers Lehre von der Obrigkeit und die moderne evangelische Staatsethik*, Göttingen, 1955.

derived not from the "lex naturae" but, above all, from his faith. Luther directs the Christian to the task with which the "orders" — matrimony, the state, etc. — confront him, but he does not reverse this sequence, does not, for instance, start with demands arising from the order, exacting their fulfilment from the Christian as a duty. It is exceedingly important to note the difference. For only in the first case is "iustitia christiana" credited with a critical function in relation to the various ideals embodied in the old or in the new civil and public laws. As soon as theological ethics embarks upon an analysis of the orders, law and Gospel cannot properly bring their influence to bear as the true principle of ethics, unless the whole area of enquiry be opened up again in the course of the presentation. But in Künneth this occurs to a very limited extent only.

Thus the shortcomings of Künneth's monumental work are found in the area of basic principle. One might say that they are similar to those found all too often in Evangelical-Lutheran ethics. For unfortunately there is by no means any general effort to derive ethical principles from the insights that are otherwise regarded as the achievement of the Reformation and that are rightly declared to be the core of the New Testament: justification by faith alone. The lack of any such basic foundation for ethics becomes evident in Künneth on various occasions. At times, the rules for action which Künneth lays down are completely up in the air, or else they are derived from maxims which in themselves are questionable and urgently demand further justification. One example may serve as an illustration. Künneth approves of the death penalty and asserts that it is the very duty of the state to retain it at a time when popular opinion repudiates it. In this connection he cites several Bible passages, primarily the Old Testament sayings of Genesis 9:6 and Exodus 21:12. However, the crucial motive for the maintenance of the death penalty is supplied by the idea of "metaphysical expiation" which in Künneth's opinion is found in Scripture. He expressly underlines that continuance of the death penalty is a specifically theological issue, since it involves the "theonomic, metaphysical concept of God's order for the preservation of mankind" (p. 265). Reading such expositions, two questions obtrude: why should the concept of "metaphysical expiation" be allotted any consideration in political ethics, and why is the death penalty required to express such expiation?

While Künneth proceeds primarily from a rational analysis of the concept of law and the orders, de Quervain intentionally begins with the declarations of the Gospel. The volume *Kirche, Volk, Staat*, represents an interesting attempt to elaborate the premise of law from justification. The point of departure is found in the doctrine of

sanctification which de Quervain had earlier utilized for the principles of his ethics in the first volume, significantly entitled *Die Heiligung*. According to de Quervain, Christ's victory on Golgotha justifies the assertion that our whole universe *has been sanctified* in Jesus Christ. Just like Karl Barth who essays to develop his doctrine of the state in terms of the doctrine of atonement, de Quervain declares that we must "focus on the fact that the state is included in Christ's work of salvation" (p. 200). Accordingly, enquiry rightly should pursue the question: "What is the meaning of the nation and the state *in Christ, through Christ?*" (p. 174). From this thesis, de Quervain draws the conclusion that both the church and the state must be regarded as good gifts of God. It is therefore wrong to reiterate that the state is a tool of an angry and revengeful God, or to characterize it as "the actual emergency order". Should this, nevertheless, be the understanding of the state — and Luther's theology unfortunately often caused this — then we have a "devaluation of the state" that is contrary to Scripture. "Therefore the state is not simply the expression of God's wrath, the place of punishment. It is the agency of a merciful God." From this point of view there is no difference between church and state. "If the church represents a shelter for him who waits for the future dominion of God, this is at least as true of the state" (p. 217). According to de Quervain, the state's primary task is to serve the church and to practice the greatest possible degree of humanity in the administration of official ordinances, since any use of force runs counter to the nature of the state.

If you follow the principles set forth by de Quervain, you are well on the way to Christocracy. In order to demonstrate that his view of the state is scriptural, de Quervain appeals to several recent exegetical theories. He points, above all, to the epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians where Christ is represented as victor over the "powers". In addition — like Karl Barth in his *Christengemeinde und Bürgergemeinde* (1946) — he appeals to Oscar Cullmann's New Testament studies.

De Quervain's political ethics stands and falls with its scriptural, theological substantiation. Any scrutiny will raise doubts about the soundness of this foundation. The very fact that de Quervain at no point in his work attempts an interpretation of the text of Romans 13, undoubtedly "the Christian congregation's classic dictum on her relationship to the powers of authority" (Günther Delm)¹², must give us pause. However, any critical confrontation with the propositions of

¹² Cf. "Engel und Obrigkeit" in the volume *Theologische Aufsätze, Karl Barth zum 50. Geburtstag, 1936*, pp. 90 ff.

christological ethics demands a thorough inquiry into its basic christology and understanding of the Scriptures, as well as its interpretation of Law and Gospel. No such critique can be offered within the framework of this article. I have tried to present such a critique elsewhere, in a different connection, with reference to the theologically more lucidly developed position of Barth, to which de Quervain's arguments provide, as it were, a mere echo¹³.

The premises of de Quervain's political ethics are untenable because they are based exclusively on such passages of Scripture as speak of Christ's already accomplished victory and totally disregard the testimony on the still and ever continuing battle. To be sure, even de Quervain cannot at times entirely avoid speaking of this struggle and the still prevailing power of evil; but this inevitably leads him into contradiction with the maxims of his political ethics. Only if you take Luther's understanding of the Christ-event seriously, can you acquit yourself of a just charge of onesidedness. In Christ, the decisive victory has already been won, but that does not mean that evil has either lost its reality or has entirely disappeared from this world. Man must allow himself to be freed from the power of evil by Christ, and this involves ever renewed struggle, it involves suffering in discipleship of Jesus Christ. The consequence of this New Testament-founded Christology of Luther's for the area of political ethics is that it will see the (temporal) state as one of God's tools for combatting evil, will understand it as expression of divine "wrath" over sin, and this without prejudice to the fact that simultaneously the same state is also an expression of God's love and of His will to preserve. In this context the enquiry after the hiddenness of God also finds its legitimate place. If, however, this Lutheran position is negated, as is the case in Barth and de Quervain, it is indeed possible to conceal the theological problem temporarily, but not to solve it. It emerges unexpectedly at other points of the ethics. Thus de Quervain is suddenly obliged to recognize the reality and effectiveness of evil powers, in contradiction to his own precept of the sanctity of the whole world, and Karl Barth, equally, must at last admit that grace exists also under a "graceless form"¹⁴.

Thus Luther's double concept of law and Gospel remains fully justified in a design for a political ethics, with Law as the agency of judgment representing the expression of divine wrath over sin. Seen systematically, a doctrine of the two kingdoms follows of necessity. It

¹³ *Gehorsam gegen Gott und Menschen*, Göttingen 1955, pp. 241 ff. — A critique of de Quervain's position is given on pp. 275 ff.

¹⁴ *Die kirchliche Dogmatik*, II/2, 1942, p. 806 f.

is true that modern natural-law theology is susceptible to the factual accuracy of such distinctions, but the concept of "natural law" is so tied up in tradition and so equivocal that it had best be avoided altogether¹⁵. In addition, the question should be raised whether the idea of a "natural law" ordained by God would not necessarily lead to a rational analysis of the "order", not bringing the Gospel fully to bear on the ethic's development. Lutheran theology should finally comprehend that ethics must be christologic in at least one sense, and this because the Gospel is concerned with Christ and the liberation effected by Him. The New Testament paranaeses can serve as maxims for the development of such christological ethics. On the other hand, we must reject Barth's determination of a "Gospel" and "Law" relationship as we do every kind of theocratic or christocratic concept of the state or of justice.

Modern theological ethics must avoid both the Scylla of debasing the Law into a form of the Gospel (Barth) and the Charybdis of putting the Law logically above the Gospel (order-theology). The writing of an Evangelical political ethics, indeed of an overall exposition of ethics, is a task still awaiting execution. It is my belief that here Luther might well be accepted as a teacher, for he brought the Law to a christologic point in unambiguous terms without deviating one iota from the "sola fide": Just as Christ served men and loved them, so all who are His disciples must serve the neighbor in faith, and love him.

¹⁵ Hans Dombois' work *Naturrecht und christliche Existenz*, Kassel, 1952, presents an interesting study; concerned with this problem, it seems to confirm what I have said.

FROM THE WORK OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION AND THE ECUMENICAL WORLD

GENEVA DIARY

A SALUTE TO FINLAND

The Church of Finland used the occasion of the 800th anniversary of St. Henry's crusade to its country as an opportunity for a nation-wide festival of Christian renewal. The leaders of the church had planned wisely to use this event to remind the people of the rich historical values of their church in the life of their country and also to call the people to new consecration and loyalty. The main event occurred in Turku cathedral, with the beloved archbishop preaching.

One feature of this celebration was the presence of representatives from neighboring churches and organizations. There is a growing sense of community in the five Scandinavian churches as evidenced by the presence of the primates of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and special greetings from Iceland. The unique fact that the history of these churches is so closely interwoven both before and after the Reformation gives these churches of the North a sense of unity which is not found in many sections of the world.

One aspect of the observance was the historical tie with the Church of England. The Archbishop of Canterbury had appointed a representative to attend, which symbolized the fact that the Finnish church was indebted to the English for its first church leader. The Church of Finland also revealed its warm regard for its fellowship in the Lutheran family by inviting the Lutheran World Federation to be represented. One is impressed by the keen interest in all aspects of the work of the Federation on the part of the bishops, pastors, and the press. The Finnish church has in the post-war years shown a remarkable understanding and acceptance of its responsibilities in our world-wide tasks. It is my impression that more pastors and congregations are aware of their participation in this world organization than in most other European churches.

For an American, one of the strongest impressions from such an observance is the remarkable possibility for a complete unity of a people where one church includes about 95 per cent of the population. The fact that government leaders, the venerable president, the prime minister, the judicial leaders so naturally participated in this celebration reveals how uniquely the church unites all the elements in society. The church is the "mother" of all the people. It is a people's church, a folk church. For the Finns and the other Scandinavians this is an accepted and normal experience. This homogeneity of faith has many advantages.

A VISIT TO THE USA

The Americans themselves have spoken and written much about the extent of the religious interest and the quality of the renewal of the churches. In spite of the fact that there are countless opportunities to read about the remarkable prosperity and the parallel religious interest it is quite a shock to meet it first hand. This human shock is sometimes very painful, especially against the background of close and frequent contact with peoples in the Orient, in South America, the Middle East, and Europe.

The churches of America are living in a period when there are no apparent organized elements which oppose the appeal of the message of Christ. With this

lack of opposition, the church seems to have unlimited possibilities of evangelism, organization of new congregations, collection of funds, recruitment of pastors and lay workers. It becomes almost an embarrassment to hear pastors and laity respond to every appeal for the needy and for help to churches around the world with a hearty willingness in almost every amount that one dares to mention.

Our Lutheran churches are participating in this general trend. In thinking of these friends in America I am confronted with two puzzling ideas. The conscience of the American Christian is very deeply disturbed over the obvious disparity in material standards of living between himself and most of the rest of the world. The individual finds his best outlet, therefore, in sharing generously. In view of all this, I was not surprised that the response to Lutheran World Action is better in 1955 than in any recent year. The phenomenon of extremely good material well-being and keen spiritual interest going hand in hand is difficult to understand for the one who lives outside of America. Most of us are acquainted with the loyalty and interest of people in areas where the church is under persecution, but it is a new thing to have material security and keen religious interest going hand in hand. The quality and the depth of the religious interest may be brought into serious question. Naturally there are some manifestations and expressions of this religious renewal which are obviously superficial and quite crude. However, the most competent leaders of our churches are convinced that there is a genuine opportunity for evangelical Christianity to preach the Gospel.

As a footnote to this general observation I wish to write about the plans for the next Assembly. The Lutherans of America are keen on having the next Assembly in their country. They look forward to the opportunity of welcoming the delegations of churches around the world. The youth groups are working out plans to entertain youth from overseas for two months. All expenses for travel and living costs during the stay in the USA will be paid for by American youth. It is intended that these young people will spend time in congregations, youth conventions, and camps, and then be included in the Assembly.

The Committee on Arrangements which met for the first time in Minneapolis in early June is making plans for the program of the Assembly. Worship will be at the center of the program, with morning and evening prayer, and full liturgical worship at noon. In these mid-day services preachers from various parts of the world will "expose" the theme in proclamations of the scriptural teaching. Evenings have been tentatively set aside for public events which are designed primarily for the congregations to know and understand the work of our churches.

The opportunity to acquaint the visitors from overseas with American church life and the possibility of helping the congregations learn to know individual church representatives will be used by the Committee in making plans for visitation in all parts of the U.S. and Canada. I sense a deep desire on the part of our people to learn from the Christians in Asia, Africa, Europe, and South America, to hear them tell of their churches, to know what the situation is in their Christian experience. These plans, and their careful execution, could become the most important aspect of the Assembly in 1957.

Carl E. Lund-Quist

World Missions

The Meeting of the Commission on World Missions at Järvenpää

The most recent meeting of the LWF Commission on World Missions (CWM) took place July 20-27 at Järvenpää (Finland). This gathering was preceded by a conference on special problems in present-day South Africa which was attended primarily by representatives of churches and missions with work in that country.

In its plenary sessions, the main conference debated a number of basic lectures on the theology of missions and on missionary practices. We are reprinting the principles and recommendations of the preliminary conference which were prepared by the committee on South Africa.

The relationship of missionary work to the young churches held a particularly prominent position in this year's Commission discussions. For this reason, we are publishing the lecture given on this topic by Dr. Earl S. Erb, as well as the reactions of the two attending representatives of the younger churches, Domine Tunggul Somuntul Sihombing of the Batak Church and Solomon Nkya Eliufoo, secretary treasurer of the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika, offered in the ensuing discussion.

The Recommendations of the Committee on South Africa

The following positions and recommendations intended for the guidance of missions, churches, and their various committees and other bodies in Southern Africa were presented to the Commission on World Missions in this form:

1. We consider that in the present development of the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa our aim should now be to unify the Lutheran Synods into one church in each ethnic and language area, for practical reasons. The next step should be the formation of a federation of such churches. There is in the Lutheran Missions a common confessional foundation, the form in which

the faith and doctrine will be given to the young churches by the missions. As this form (the Book of Concord) is a fruit of experiences in the history of the church, the young church is free to express its faith and confession in its own way, using the Small Catechism and its own confessional writings, expressing its attitude to special problems confronting it, as long as such confessional statements conform to the faith and doctrine of the Lutheran Church.

There are certain differences of interpretation in matters pertaining to church practice among the Lutheran Synods in Southern Africa. Such differences are serious, and earnest efforts should be made to overcome such differences through common theological study.

Differences in tradition and order are not of equal importance. It should not be our aim to bind the young church absolutely to the European example. It should have its own say in questions of constitution and order. The differences of the missions may possibly disappear with time, or even prove an enrichment to the heritage of the young church.

The unity of the Lutheran churches stands in the common faith and confession. In matters of organization as well as in matters of constitution and order we should allow a free development in common understanding. Unity does not mean uniformity for all groups.

2. With regard to the standard of our theological training we recommend that the research work of Dr. Sundkler on theological training in Africa, which will be published in book form, should be studied by all missions. Thereafter, this matter is to be studied again in the Committee on South Africa, and referred to CWM.

3. The new situation in the Union of South Africa as expressed in the Bantu Education Act creates many problems for Christian work. We recommend that the responsible co-operative bodies in Southern Africa consider the following possibilities for maintaining the Christian influence in the schools under government control:

1. Upholding the Christian influence in our schools through teachers (male and female) and members of school boards who are strong Christian personalities.
 - a) Regular post-school and vacation courses for teachers are recommended.
 - b) Great emphasis should be given to train other persons who are to give religious instruction in government schools, to enable them to do their work efficiently.
 - c) The formation of a Lutheran Teachers' Association is suggested.
2. The hostels of institutions and schools should be retained by the missions as long as possible to secure Christian guidance of the students in close co-operation with the church.
3. The various synods are requested to explore the possibility of instituting night schools in towns and cities.
4. The synods should consider means to put full emphasis on religious instruction in Sunday Schools and confirmation classes.
5. In stressing the importance of Sunday School work as well as the production of Christian literature we recommend for each language area the appointment of:
 - a) a full-time literary secretary;
 - b) a full-time worker assigned for Sunday School and other religious instruction.

4. We have noted the communications of the various Lutheran missions with the government in reference to the Bantu Education Act as it has bearing on the activity of the missions and the life of the church in reference to religious liberty, relations of Church and State, race relations etc. We regret the lack of unity in the statements presented and ask that a united study be made of these problems by the missions and churches in Southern Africa on the basis of Lutheran theology in order to arrive at a common agreement that can become a uniform basis of action for the churches.

5. If there is more than one Lutheran mission or church body in a city, we recommend that they ought to co-

operate very closely in district organization in order to unify the work. If one mission working in some city finds the work too great for its resources it should invite another Lutheran mission to join it in a united effort.

6. We strongly recommend to the missions and synods that they standardize their wage scales for African workers and practice their responsibility for each other by standing together in stewardship.

Relations between Autonomous Churches and Foreign Helpers

Before we can begin to consider the practical issues which are implied in our topic, we must inquire concerning the nature of the Church and concerning the mission of the Church.

I. The Nature of the Church

The Church is the body of Christ. The Church is composed of all true believers. There are no national lines. There are no class or race distinctions in the Church. Our Lord's Prayer recorded in John 17 would be utterly meaningless if that were not the case. In verses 20-22 of that chapter He prays, "I do not pray for these only, but also for those who are to believe in me through their word, that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us, so that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. The glory which thou hast given me I have given to them, that they may be one even as we are one, I in them and thou in me, that they may become perfectly one . . ."

Paul also makes this abundantly clear in his letters.

II. The Mission of the Church

The mission of the Church is also made quite clear in the Scriptures. Our Lord has said, "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations." Paul in his letter to the Ephesians has written clearly about the mission of the Church. (J. B. Phillips *Letters to the Young Churches*.) Ephesians 1: 7-10. "It is thru the Son, at the cost of His own blood, that we are redeemed, freely forgiven

thru that full and generous grace which has overflowed into our lives and opened our eyes to the truth. For God has allowed us to know the secret of His plan, and it is this: He purposes in His sovereign will that all human history shall be consummated in Christ, that everything that exists in Heaven or earth shall find its perfection and fulfilment in Him."

III. Some Principles to Guide Relationships

Since this is the mission of the Church, it can mean only that this is the mission of the whole Church. The Christian Church is a world fellowship and the task committed to the Church is committed to that world fellowship in Christ, and not to an isolated section set apart by national or class distinctions.

It also follows that all the gifts that God has given to all the members of His Church are to be used in the fulfilment of the mission. It is a task that we would have to consider overwhelming and impossible if it were not for the assurance that it is His task and that He does not ask us to perform a task for which He does not provide the means whereby it may be achieved.

It is not the purpose of this paper to consider ecumenical relationships of the Lutheran Church in this world fellowship of Christians. We shall consider here only that phase which applies specifically to the missionary task of the Lutheran Church.

The nations of the world have reached various stages of economic, social, and political development. This is recognized in the term "underdeveloped areas" which is frequently used. In some nations of the world practically all the people are literate. In other areas only a small minority can read and write. In some nations the economy has been so developed that the standard of living enables people, who are inclined to do so, to share some of their material possessions with other people of their own country or of other lands, without suffering any real privation themselves. It would seem to me to be quite clear that the educational and economic advantages enjoyed by the Christians

of one nation should be made available to the Church in other nations. It is axiomatic. It would therefore be most unnatural and actually wrong for the Christians of one nation to refuse to share their economic and educational advantages with the people of other nations; and it seems to me that it would be equally unnatural and wrong for the Church of another nation to refuse to receive personnel and gifts to the degree to which they are needed and can help in the fulfilment of the total mission of the Church. I believe that it is very important to consider seriously all that is implied in the last part of the previous sentence, "to the degree to which they are needed and can help in the fulfilment of the total mission of the Church." Surely the Holy Spirit will guide His Church in making right decisions on this point, if "colonialism", "paternalism", or "nationalism" do not shut out such guidance.

It is also quite clear that people with special gifts of mind and heart are needed to labor shoulder to shoulder as missionaries in lands other than their own. One of the marks of a good missionary must be that he actually rejoices when he has trained a national of the country where he is serving to take his place. It is not enough for him just to accept the fact that another has taken his place. He must actually find joy in the achievement, even though it may mean that he will no longer be needed in the place in which he has found so much satisfaction in his service.

Because of social customs or political developments in a particular nation at a particular time, there are certain functions which the national can perform better; but in another nation at the same time, it may be true that the missionary can perform that particular function better.

The goal of autonomy for a church is a high and noble one. Sometimes, however, the term is misinterpreted. It does not mean reaching a stage of development when the relationship with the fellowship of Lutherans around the World is to be severed.

It has often been said that the churches

who are now sending missionaries should be guided by these same principles and should therefore invite Lutherans of other lands to come to the present sending countries and make their contribution toward the fulfilment of the total mission of the Church. This certainly is true. There are several questions, however, which must be kept in mind when decisions of this nature are made: "Will the church from which the national comes suffer unduly because he is leaving?" and, "Has it been a true concern for the fulfilment of the total mission of the Church which has prompted the proposal, or has it been the exaltation of nationalism or pride?"

It seems to me that one of the tendencies which has hindered the development of the autonomous churches, in the best sense, is the very human insistence that all positions of responsibility in administration or in teaching, or in any form of witnessing, must be in the hands of the nationals whether leadership for each type of service has been developed or not. On the one hand there are certainly "foreign helpers" who have tried to remain in their positions of responsibility long after nationals should have been in the posts. On the other hand, there are nationals who are envious of "foreign helpers" who are in posts of responsibility.

The period of transition from mission status to that of an autonomous church is never an easy one. Mistakes will be made. The Church cannot wait until experienced leadership is developed for every post before the church becomes autonomous. How can experience be gained except by nationals becoming responsible for the fulfilment of the mission of the Church? It is at this point that Christian patience and statesmanship is most needed. Many times it would be a great deal easier for both nationals and missionaries to maintain the status quo, but the path of progress toward the development of a church that will take its place in the fulfilment of the world mission of the Church, does not lie in that direction. "Foreign helpers" are guests in other lands and it is never clear just how long the govern-

ments of the nations will look with favor upon foreigners within their borders, even though the Church in that country would desire to continue to have the "foreign helpers". What of the Church if the "foreign helpers" had to withdraw? It must be the policy of the boards sending the "foreign helpers" to transfer responsibility as rapidly as possible so that another fully autonomous church may take its place in the world fellowship that has a world mission committed to it by Christ.

IV. Some Practical Applications of the Principles

At this point let us consider several points at which the relationships between the autonomous churches and "foreign helpers" are most difficult.

Housing. The home in which the missionary lives is usually different from that in which the national pastor or catechist lives. I believe that it must be said that many mistakes have been made in this phase of missionary activity, even by most consecrated and dedicated people.

It seems to me that there are several very basic facts and principles that must be considered by the autonomous churches and by the "foreign helpers". Some of these follow. The home should be as much like that of the average citizens of the country as possible. However, there are certain modifying factors. It is recognized that people who have been reared in other climates and circumstances should have certain protection from the elements that the national does not require. The features of a residence for the missionary which are required to provide such protection seem to me to be not only desirable but necessary if the missionary is to make his best contribution. However, to build and furnish a home which is larger or more ornate than is necessary to make provision for the health factor seems to be an unjustifiable use of funds and separates the missionary from the people he is sincerely seeking to serve. Another fact that should be remembered is that the married "foreign helpers" are rearing their families amid circumstances and conditions which do

not prevail in the countries where the children will probably live as adults.

A missionary who had spent her entire life until retirement as a "foreign helper" told me that it is not so much the kind of a house in which you live that matters, but rather how you live in it and how you receive the people of the neighborhood in your home.

Salaries. This is one of the points which causes considerable difficulty. The question today is not only the difference between the salary of the missionary and that of the national, but between the missionary of one country and the missionary of another country. This latter point is more acute today because people from many nations are serving as "foreign helpers" in the same area to a greater degree than ever before. I rejoice, for example, that the board I represent has citizens from five nations serving on the staff of missionaries. We hope soon to add missionaries from another.

Again there are certain facts and principles which must be kept in mind in dealing with this situation. Because of health precautions, and because at least some imported foods and clothing are required, the cost of living is higher for the "foreign helper" than for the national. The "foreign helper" has certain obligations in his homeland which continue even though he has the normal obligations where he is serving. Several attempts that are being made to face this issue fairly and realistically are: The salary received on the mission field is that of the national pastor, but an additional sum is paid into the missionary's bank account at home in recognition of the obligations which are his in his homeland over and above those which he has on the field.

In an attempt to find a formula for salaries to be paid to personnel from different countries, the following is under consideration: "In determining their salaries due consideration shall be given to their educational qualifications, their responsibilities, their years of service, the cost of living in the homeland and the salary standards existing in the homeland. The furlough period shall also be determined by con-

sidering prevailing practices in the homeland."

Representation on Legislative Boards. Many questions are raised on this subject. Shall a certain percentage of the membership of the legislative bodies of the autonomous churches be composed of missionaries? What percentage, if they are to be represented there? Should there be constitutional provision on this subject, thus permitting the autonomous church to elect "foreign helpers" to the administrative bodies if they desire to do so?

Again the principles stated in the early part of this paper should be applied. The churches are at different stages in their development. The mission of the Church is the mission of the whole Church.

It is certainly true that if "foreign helpers" are given places on these administrative boards grudgingly or by an unwilling compliance with constitutional requirements, then little good can result. On the other hand, if the autonomous church does not recognize the principle that "foreign helpers" should be welcomed to provide those gifts and qualities not yet developed in the younger church, then it is a serious reflection on the Christian character of that body.

Here again, there really should be no problem if humble men of Christian faith and love ask the guidance of the Holy Spirit that the mission of the Church may be fulfilled.

It has always seemed to me that the suggestions for the reduction of missionary representation in administrative bodies can come most naturally and effectively from the "foreign helpers". This places a tremendous responsibility on the "foreign helpers". If threats and pressures are used by the autonomous churches to achieve a change, then an atmosphere of tension is created as bad as the tension created by the refusal of "foreign helpers" to see the need for change.

There are many other areas in which these broad and basic principles need to be applied, but perhaps the ones discussed here are sufficient to point up the issues.

Earl S. Erb

Mission and Church as Viewed by the Younger Churches

T. S. Sihombing, Batak Protestant Christian Church, Indonesia

I want to say, first of all, that I like the term "foreign helper" because it indicates how the mission agencies have changed their policy in the period following World War II. On our part, we in the younger churches accept this help from abroad as a gift from God. In discussing the relationship between the foreign groups and the autonomous church which has its own responsibilities within the world-wide community of the Church, I should like to suggest the use of a new name, namely "inter-church aid". Not that the younger churches have a special dislike for the word "mission", but the present situation is much better described if we simply say that these churches have their special connections with their sister churches abroad.

This is also reflected by the fact that most of the helpers from other countries are accepted into membership by the church of their new home. For instance, if someone arrives by plane from America in Sumatra to take up work there, his first step should be to become a member of the Batak Church. He becomes a member of the church he serves, and at the same time he breaks off connections with his home church. This has nothing to do with national or racial relationships, but it has a great deal to do with the meaning of the Body of Christ and the relationship of its members. Of course, our constitution makes no distinction between national and foreign members, and therefore the foreign members are in no way excluded from administrative positions and high office. How often they are placed in such posts, and how many of them will be available is, of course, a matter of judicious church policy and individual decision.

Finally, concerning salaries and housing, I may state that the Batak church has no objection if foreign helpers are better housed and paid than we ourselves. What we do regard as serious, though, are divisive differences

between various missionary groups working in one area, such as the Rhenish Mission and groups from India and Holland; we often sense deep differences between them that are matters of a different attitude to life, different income, different accommodation, different background, and also of dissimilarity between the sending agencies.

We are not worried about houses or salaries, but we find it embarrassing to be faced continually with a German, Dutch, or American block among our helpers. I hope I will not be misunderstood. It is our wish to share the work, to share it with those who entered the work, who freed it from colonial thinking, who share with us in partnership and obedience what God has given to us all.

S. N. Eliufoo, Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika

May I start out with a few remarks on a very general question, that of missionary housing and standard of living. I remember conversations, about 1953, with several of my fellow-countrymen in which the question came up whether it would be best for a missionary to live as a native, leading the local kind of life. The answer given was a decisive "no", and I could well understand the reason for this. Such a manner of life on the part of a missionary would be regarded as sheer pretense.

But, in addition, there is something else. Many people in Africa are of the opinion that the missionary, like all the other white men, wants to keep them at a low standard of living and wants to prevent them, at any rate, from reaching the white people's standard of life. If the missionary were now to try and live at a lower standard than his ordinary one, it would be interpreted: the white man is descending to our level in order to keep us at that low level. It is unfortunate that the impression that the white man wants to keep the African on a lower living standard exists at all, but it does, even if it is not frequently mentioned.

This is an example of how important

it is for the missionary to be really familiar with the African's mind. Again I am thinking of a conversation with a missionary some years ago, who complained that at a conference a certain pastor had treated the missionaries and whatever they said with the utmost suspicion. If you know a little of Africa's history, and if you know the history of this individual pastor, then you will find that he, like African people generally, had good reasons for being highly suspicious. One must learn these things; one must also learn that African people today live in a world that simply must create doubts and suspicions. A missionary should be careful not to oppose himself to such suspicion. He should study it, recognize its causes and then, perhaps, find a remedy. Perhaps I should explain this by saying that in this era of nationalism in Africa, this era of extreme touchiness, the missionary, who is by no means exempt from the general suspicion, should be like a glass window through which the African mind can see Jesus Christ only. If he can forget that he is an American, or European, or whatever background he has, and simply stand out like a window to Christ, then he can get a hearing and will be followed.

Finally, I should like to say a word on the missionary's relationship to government, a government that to us is a foreign government. This represents a major source of suspicion. I know that the missionaries are suspected by our people of being, shall I say, "informers" of the government. This may easily happen, if only because the government officer and the missionary speak the same tongue. But as soon as the African finds that the missionary and the official are closer than the missionary and himself, his suspicion is aroused. It is said: the official is aware that the missionary knows the people, therefore he goes to him for information. Very likely this happens, and it creates a very delicate situation for the missionary. Perhaps this state of affairs could be relieved by giving the African a voice in the calling of missionaries, thus making them more acceptable among the people.

These reasons also explain the frequently cited reserve of the Chaggas. They are reserved for fear that the missionaries may provide a channel for information about them to the white group as a whole. They are not reserved because they do not like the missionaries; indeed, they appreciate their work very much. But no matter how much the missionary tries to be an African, he will remain white all the same. It is unfortunate, but I cannot see how a missionary can be successful unless he tries to be like a pane of glass, as I said before, and unless he tries to see the situation as it is.

As a church, we now see the missionary as a pastor or a fellow-worker. I do not know to what extent he actually is under the discipline of our church. But as a fellow-worker he is cordially accepted like anyone else who shares our task.

Theology

On the Forthcoming Conferences of the Commissions on Theology and Liturgy

The annual conferences of the Commissions on Theology and Liturgy of the LWF are scheduled for the period of August 5-13. The Department of Theology, charged with the preparation of these meetings, has chosen Strasbourg as the conference site. This action expresses the particular responsibility which the Lutheran World Federation feels for minority churches; the Church of the Augsburg Confession in Alsace and Lorraine is one of the liveliest among world Lutheranism's minority churches.

The working themes for both conferences were settled previously, since they are topics that have been under discussion for some years. As at last year's Hildesheim meeting, the Liturgy Commission will concern itself with the "order of divine service". The Commission's work is not an end in itself, but is to serve the church life of all the World Federation's member churches. That is why the working themes of the Com-

mission are closely related to certain expressions of life in the churches. A movement of liturgical revival is passing through many churches at the moment, and consciously or unconsciously, positively or negatively, this has its effect on world Lutheranism. The efforts of especially this Lutheran renewal movement are directed towards the restoration of the complete Christian service including both sermon and the celebration of the sacrament, that is, of the form of the mass.

The Liturgy Commission wants to be of service to the member churches in this by deliberating upon every issue raised by such a form of service and each of its individual phases. Having occupied itself with the so-called opening section at last year's session, the Commission this year will discuss the section of the Word. Without anticipating the Commissions' conclusions it may here be stated that this very division has settled one issue. It concerns the collect, which is included in the opening portion and is therefore regarded as a conclusion to the introductory prayer section and not as preparation for the Scripture readings. The latter, together with the creed, the sermon and the General Prayer, make up the topics for the meeting's lectures and discussions. The above sequence of the topics, the same as on the agenda, is theologically irrelevant. For the appropriate position of the credo, in particular, will have to be subject to exhaustive discussions: should it follow immediately after the Scripture readings, or after the sermon or be — as a Lutheran offertory — an integral part of the sacramental section of the service? Introductory talks will be given by experts from various Lutheran Churches: Prof. Sven Kjöllérström (Lund) will speak on the lectionary, President Conrad Bergendoff (Rock Island, Illinois) on the sermon, and Prof. Christhard Mahrenholz (Hannover) on the General Prayer.

In addition to these matters concerning the structure, form, and theology of divine service, the agenda lists several other issues with an immediate bearing on the worship life of the Lu-

theran churches. Consideration will thus be given, for instance, to the likely effects of long-standing proposals for calendar reform on the arrangement of the church year. Sufficient study material is available on the calendar reform proposals themselves.

The liturgical Commission decided at its last meeting to undertake a collection of material on worship life in the member churches. In co-operation with the Department of Theology, the Commission prepared a questionnaire and forwarded this to member churches requesting an accurate reply. The answers that were received, together with the material, such as agendas, lectionaries, and hymnals, that many churches were kind enough to supply, provide an excellent, though incomplete, picture of worship life in world Lutheranism. The Commission will determine in what manner the assembled material is to be utilized.

Moreover, the Commission will already deal with initial preparations for the LWF Assembly to be held in Minneapolis in 1957, at any rate, to the extent to which the nature of the Assembly's worship life is up for discussion. Suggestions and plans drafted by the American preparatory committee are available for this. Prominent theologians have been invited to the sessions as advisors to the Commission on the Liturgy, made up of Professor Dr. Sven Kjöllérström, Dr. Christhard Mahrenholz and Dr. Conrad Bergendoff.

The two Commissions will hold a joint session to discuss topics which touch the compass of both. Within the previously set theme of "The Theology of Worship", a whole day will be devoted to the topic of "Divine Worship and Sacrifice". Lectures are expected from Prof. Regin Prenter (Aarhus) and Prof. Carl Wisløff (Oslo). The themes of the two commissions will overlap at this session in as much as the theological Commission meets under the topic "The Unity of the Church". This illustrates how closely doctrine of worship is related to the doctrine of the Church; "worship and sacrifice", a subject brought up by certain trends in contemporary Evangelical theology,

cannot be discussed apart from ecclesiology. The inquiry is not, however, solely concerned with controversy within the Evangelical Church, but equally with the theology of controversy with Catholicism. And this not simply because Luther rightly attacked the 16th century's doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass, and because the idea of sacrifice continues to occupy Lutheran theology, but also because the Roman Church's doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass has been reconsidered since Odo Casel and in the circles of Benedictine theology. Lutheran theology can no longer avoid this discussion and there is therefore good reason for the two Commissions to tackle this theme at their session.

The Commission on Theology's session will also be attended by numerous consultants in addition to the Commission members, Prof. Peter Brunner, Prof. Ernst Kinder, Bishop Anders Nygren, and Prof. Regin Prenter. The consultants will include Bishop Hanns Lilje, Oberkirchenrat Hans Heinrich Harms of the World Council of Churches in Geneva, as well as representatives of the Lutheran Churches of France.

The theme for the study program of the theological Commission is "The Unity of the Church". Thus the Commission takes up one of the most burning issues of contemporary church life; at the same time the work of the session has a bearing on the theme of the coming LWF Assembly. There is available a first draft for the study material on the Assembly theme.

The theme itself, "The Unity of the Church", will be covered by several sessions in the course of the meeting, from the following points of view: "The Church's Confession as Endowment (Gabe) and Commission (Aufgabe)", "The Unity and Multiplicity of the Church", and "Faith and Doctrine". The choice of these themes indicates the urgency of the questions to which we must seek an answer. For the Lutheran confession by no means provides ready-made recipes for the treatment of issues that come up; rather, for our own sake we must ever struggle for new answers as we listen to Scripture and Confes-

sion. Beyond this, these themes gain special significance because of the conversations with the churches united in the ecumenical movement. For many of these same questions are paramount there, and if it is true that the special obligation of the Lutheran church to the other churches is to protect pure doctrine, then our own continued efforts are even more urgently required. Particular weight is given these topics, moreover, by the fact that they have to be treated in the light of the controversy with the Roman Church. If we deny Roman Catholicism's claim to be alone the One Holy and Apostolic Church and that apostolic doctrine is guaranteed purely and infallibly only in the Roman Chair, then we must be in a position to state what really constitutes the unity of the Church and the purity of doctrine. It is particularly with a view to Roman controversy-theology that we must seek to clear away the confusions which widely dominate Evangelical ecclesiology.

This requires of us, first of all, consideration of what the New Testament teaches about the Church; it is the reason that at the meeting of the Theology Commission not only the systematists but also the exegetes will have the floor. The lectures which are to be given on "the Unity of the Church" in the course of the meeting will therefore be presented by representatives of both disciplines.

Following up the theme, the Commission decided at its last session to initiate a collection of material, gathering all documents by which the churches regulate church fellowship and intercommunion with other denominations and other Lutheran churches. In response to the Theology Department's ensuing request, many churches have provided particulars. These show that, a few exceptions apart, Lutheran churches do not practice full communion with other denominations, but that most Lutheran churches practice such communion among themselves. The Commission is to decide how to utilize this material and, especially, what recommendations might be worked out from the available evidence.

The theological conferences which have been held in Europe since 1948, and since last year in the United States as well, have formed a major part of the study program of the theological Commission. Directions for this year's conferences have already been worked out; they are to deal with problems of ecclesiology, in accord with the Commission's general study topic. The director of the Department will report on the course and success of the latest conferences and the Commission will determine how the conference program of the Lutheran World Federation may be continued and improved on the basis of past experience. Let us note in passing that a theological conference for Alsatian pastors will be held on the occasion of the Commission meetings.

A number of lesser points whose settlement also falls into the orbit of the theological Commission are on the agenda, including the LWF exchange program and the international conference on Luther research scheduled for next summer, to be reported in detail at a later date. The main work for the Commission's sessions will, however, be the lectures and discussions on the unity of the Church and the preparations for the theological work at the Assembly.

Let us point out in closing that the themes and study programs of both Commission are closely related to the problems which the various Commissions of the World Council of Churches have taken into their program. That does not imply unnecessary duplication for us, but co-ordination that has proved itself. For, as we have said, our work is not to be an end in itself but should, above all, stimulate our own member churches to face these urgent questions. Should this really happen, Lutheran theologians could contribute more effectively to the theological work of the World Council of Churches and help ground the latter's studies in the Lutheran confession as far as possible and necessary. Thus this co-ordination may benefit the World Council's work as well as theological study in our churches and, last not least, in the Commissions.

Hans H. Weissgerber

World-Service

New features to mark the work of Lutheran World Service

On the forthcoming session of the Commission on World Service in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia

If one compares the different stages of international Lutheran welfare work during the post-war years, he discovers a steady, sometimes even rapid, change from one area to another.

It all began with Europe's war-devastated areas, but very soon the victims of conflicting post-war political interests became the concern of the Lutheran World Federation, and now it seems that Christian love still has many opportunities for service in central and in south eastern Europe, in the Near and in the Far East. It is to these two latter areas that the weight of Lutheran relief activity seems to be shifting, with Jordan and Hong Kong as the focal points. This, at any rate, appears to be the most remarkable feature of the budget for 1956/57 which the LWF Commission on World Service will review and approve at Ljubljana and which will be submitted to member churches later in the fall. The budget will be slightly higher than the present 1955/56 figure of \$ 1,136,494 precisely because of this *shifting of emphasis*. Emergency aid funds budgeted for underdeveloped areas in Jordan, Syria, and Hong Kong are and have been insufficient to meet the minimum needs of our welfare programs there for the thousands of destitute refugees. The budget increase will be for these countries.

During the present fiscal year, the Department is spending \$ 87,382.80 in Jordan, \$ 38,400 in Hong Kong, and \$ 54,265 in Syria for administration, food, clothing, shelter, and medical aid. Besides this amount, much material aid from the various member churches is distributed in these areas by LWF/WS personnel. Material and financial help also is given by various other relief agencies through the Department, in particular the United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

In Jordan and Syria, where Mr. Christian Christiansen is the LWF/WS representative, more than half a million refugees have been forced from their homes by the Palestine conflict. The largest hospital in the Near East, Augusta Victoria in Jerusalem, is operated by LWF/WS with heavy financial support from the UNWRA. Several large food distribution centers and medical clinics are also supported by the Department. Our program has been of great service to the few Lutheran schools and churches in Jordan as well as to thousands of other needy refugees.

In Hong Kong, with a refugee population of 667,000, LWF/WS Representative Pastor K. L. Stumpf directs an extensive relief program with financial and material aid from the Department, from interested friends in the United States, and other voluntary and governmental organizations. In hundreds of cases this aid is a matter of life or death, sickness or health; and the needs are increasing along with the birth rate.

Pastor Stumpf works closely with a committee composed of Lutheran missionaries, and thus LWF relief work has not only helped the Chinese refugees, but also served to strengthen the work of the Lutheran missions in Hong Kong.

Possible limited refugee aid programs in India and Tanganyika will be discussed by the Commission as another phase of the shift in emphasis from European relief to underdeveloped area and younger churches.

For the work of the churches that have overcome the economic difficulties in which they were so deeply involved but a few years ago, the establishment of *revolving loan funds* seems preferable to continued direct grants. Such a fund has been used successfully in West Germany for the past three years and also in France, and this gives the Commission a pattern to consider for other churches. Last year, the Lutheran Church in Holland began to use such a loan fund at their own request.

Procedure followed with the West German fund was to give the church

(the central board of the German LWF/WS) a grant of \$ 50,000 and then allow its officials to loan the money to local parishes where they felt it was needed. Then, as the local parishes were able to pay back the loan to the German church, it was again loaned to other parishes. In this way the fund "revolves" and is still in use.

The Commission is also striving to find new ways and means of strengthening and deepening the *spiritual life* of especially the *minority churches* in Europe along with the Department's increasing financial responsibility for these diaspora groups.

In such countries as France, Yugoslavia, Holland, and Italy, where our minority Lutheran churches are chiefly located, congregations are often scattered over many miles and contact between members and pastors as well as church attendance is a geographical problem. In many cases the congregations are also too poor to support their own pastors, or any church building or repair programs. The LWF/WS has paid pastors' salaries, traveling expenses, costs of religious literature, and of construction and repair of church buildings, and various other necessary expenses for maintaining a diaspora church. By helping such member churches to help themselves, it has been felt that the revolving loan fund method may be a more effective way of providing aid. A suggestion for sponsoring Stewardship and Evangelism conferences in these areas as a means of strengthening the churches also will be discussed.

In this connection we must mention the *Exchange of Church Workers* program begun this year which was designed to help all member churches, but particularly the diaspora areas. Commission executives will be asked to approve the rules of procedure for the program.

With the aid of a \$ 15,000 fund in the 1955/1956 budget, younger pastors and laymen from different member churches will be able to live and study for a time in the churches and countries of other Federation members under this exchange program. It is hoped that it

will provide opportunities for these younger leaders to receive church work experience, and training in other churches and countries in order to be more useful in their own parishes.

The suggested procedure would be to encourage National Committees and churches to provide places for exchangees in their areas and to select exchangees to go to other areas. LWF/WS would assign available free places to various churches to fill according to the preference of the receiving church. Part of the costs would be provided by the Department and part by the receiving church.

A list of areas of study for the exchangees which could be of value in promoting better inter-church understanding was prepared by the Department and includes the following: parish evangelism, stewardship, the diaconate, evangelical academies, student service, youth work, women's work, church publicity, social work methods, institutional care, pastoral counseling, medical and spiritual care, prison ministry, and men's work.

As work is begun in new fields of world service, the Department is *curtailing activities* in other areas where member churches are now able to assume responsibility. This is particularly true of Germany. Excepting the field of resettlement, the fiscal year 1954-5 was the last year in which LWF/WS financed and conducted a welfare program among the refugees there. The German churches have been able to finance their own programs with a very few minor exceptions. The German National Committee is now giving increasing support to Department projects in other parts of the world.

It is in Austria that continued refugee aid from LWF/WS is needed. Financial help, however, from the UN High Commissioner for Refugees will be given the Department as a voluntary agency to continue working in this area in the next four years under the U.N. Permanent Solution program.

In the field of *resettlement* for refugees, the Department has been engaged in a twofold program: One in

implementing the Refugee Relief Act of the United States and the other in resettling migrants under our Resettlement Revolving Loan Fund to Canada, Australia, South America, and Africa, both in co-operation with the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM).

Since 1952, more than 15,000 Lutheran European emigrants have been resettled with the help of the Department of World Service and its representatives in 26 different countries. By May 30th of this year, 11,923 of this number had been resettled in Canada alone. The offices of Canadian Lutheran World Relief, Lutheran Refugee Service in New York, and the Australian Evangelical Lutheran Church have contributed much time, money, and personnel in helping these emigrants in their countries.

With the gradual decline in European emigration, the trend in Department resettlement activities will be from an active "visa producing" program in which LWF is now engaged to a counseling and co-ordinating function along with national church agencies. It is hoped that by 1957 the role of LWF/WS will be to co-ordinate the spiritual ministry, counseling, and welfare services of the various national church agencies and to grant financial assistance to individual migrants only at the request of these agencies.

Executive members of the Commission who will be attending the conference and discussing these concerns of the Department of World Service for the coming years include: the Rev. Dr. Paul C. Empie, chairman of the Commission and executive director of the National Lutheran Council in the United States; the Rev. Henrik Hauge, secretary of the Commission and head of the Norwegian Institute for Inter-Church Relations; Harry Johansson, D. Th., director of the Nordic Ecumenical Institute and head of the Church of Sweden's Aid Committee; the Rev. Dr. Volkmar Hertrich, Oberkirchenrat, professor at the Theological Faculty of Hamburg University, and member of the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany; and the Rev. Henry F.

Schuh, L. D., president of the American Lutheran Church in the United States. Mr. Reuben Baetz, acting director of the Department of World Service, will present his report and the new budget to these executives for their approval.

Host officials in Yugoslavia will be the Rt. Rev. Samuel Starke, Bishop of the Slovak Lutheran Church and president of the Federation of Lutheran Churches in Yugoslavia, and the Rev. Karol Kovač, Senior Pastor of the Lutheran Church of Slovenia.

Conference delegates will participate in the dedication ceremonies of the newly-renovated Lutheran church in Ljubljana on August 14th. Funds from LWF/WS were used to help in the rebuilding of this church.

The Department of World Service is the largest in terms of budget and staff in the Federation, and plans for its welfare work are made with a feeling of gratitude to God for His continual blessings. He has allowed us to be His tools in an extensive way in serving our brethren who have no opportunity to live as we who are more fortunate.

"Because He first loved us, so must we love one another." A. Jean Olson

Education

Conference of the Commission on Education in Brumunddal near Hamar (Norway)

Immediately preceding the gathering of the Lutheran World Federation's Commission on Education, the Norwegian Institute for Christian Education held a separate four-day conference for theologians and educators in Oslo, April 19-22, in which the members of the Commission had already participated. From here they then travelled to quiet, isolated Brumunddal.

This first conference might well be regarded as an introduction to the actual conference of the Commission on Education; at any rate both meetings dealt with almost identical subjects.

The theme for the Commission's session was: "The Family's Responsibility for Christian Education". This theme will also serve as our study topic for the period of work facing us before the next Assembly of the Federation in 1957.

To begin with, lectures dealt with issues which were to lead us to work on the actual theme: the Family as an Order of God — the Family as an Educational Unit — the Relationship of Family and School — the Relationship of the Family to the State and to Cultural Organizations — the Family's Relation to the Church. These talks were thoroughly discussed. The themes and their discussion are to be prepared as study documents for the Lutheran Churches prior to 1957. Another conference is planned for 1957, to take place in the USA in advance of the Assembly. It is this conference that is to deal with the main theme and provide a report for the Assembly.

Moreover, the Commission resolved to request the Department of Theology to include educators in the Lutheran World Federation's exchange program, giving preference to the churches in Asia, Africa and South America, as well as to the minority churches of Europe.

On Sunday, April 24, the conference concluded with a service conducted by Bishop Simojoki in the Veldre church. For we did not only wish to discuss these questions as experts in theology or education, we wanted to feel ourselves members of the Church. Therefore we took Holy Communion together at this service, as Christians of different race and color. At the Lord's Table the world's boundary lines do not exist; even though we do not speak the same tongues, we are no strangers: we know the liturgy and the tunes are the same as those of the hymns at home, and ever again we hear the name of Jesus Christ who unites us all. We experienced this also during the afternoon of the same day when all of us brought a brief word of greeting from our homeland to the assembled congregation.

Indeed, on the occasion of such a gathering one should never inquire

exclusively after the academic results, one should ever be grateful for the rich blessing received through the encounter with other people, other Christians. For it is significant and meaningful even for our faith if beside the circumspect and thorough ideas of the

Germans we have the Americans' practical and "pragmatic" experiences. Thus we left this conference with a grateful heart in the hope that it might have brought forth fruit for the cause of Christ's Church here on earth.

Andar Lumbantobing

FROM LANDS AND CHURCHES

U.S.A.

Adjustment Problems Confronting the Urban Church in the United States

The city churches in America today are facing many major changes. They are finding themselves in the midst of rapidly shifting neighborhoods and are experiencing related changes within the congregations. Churches which once ministered to a rather closely related social group living near the church now find themselves serving a quite different kind of group which more often than not is scattered all over the city. A combination of recognizable social forces is contributing to these transitions.

What is happening in the social structure and in the very pattern of American life to bring about such effects? Is it that these forces are new to the American scene — these forces that bring about the deterioration of our neighborhoods and that bring to the doors of the churches a completely different ethnic or racial group almost overnight? If they are not new, then what has caused the accentuation of these shifts and brought many of our city churches into veritable crisis situations?

I

One factor contributing to these adjustments confronting American city churches is the phenomenal population growth. The longer life expectancy and the higher birth rate have had much to do with these changes. In the last five years the population of this nation has increased from 150 million to 165 million. In 1940 it was 131 million and in 1930, 122 million. When we consider these figures, which in themselves are quite startling, alongside of the 1900 population of 76 million, we begin to grasp the surging and relentless population increase that is occurring.

Nor is the end of this trend anywhere in sight, say the United States Bureau of the Census and other reliable population forecasters. An estimated 221 million people will reside within these United States by the year 1975 — an increase of more than 55 million persons in the next 20 years.

Another contributing factor in this rapid-fire succession of changes hitting our cities and the churches in them is the gradual but continuing population shift from rural to urban area. With the mechanization of farming and the consequent reduction of manpower needed to operate the average farm, a surplus of rural population is steadily flowing into our urban centers. In 1900, 24 million people lived in cities of 10,000 and over. This represented about one-third of our national population. By 1920, 45 million people resided in towns and cities of this size; this was approximately 42% of the total population. In 1940 the figure had increased to 64 million, or 47%. It is estimated that if present trends continue, approximately 60% of our national population will be living in cities of over 10,000 by 1975.

A third contributing factor is that of housing and adequate living space. During the depression years of the '30's and the war years following, the construction of new homes to care for the expanding population lagged far behind the rapidly growing need. Then, with the cessation of the shooting war and the availability of building materials, an unprecedented housing boom began. During the last four years we have built an average of 1.2 million homes a year.

All of this meant that our urban centers extended more than ever beyond their original boundaries and many rural areas bordering on these American cities found themselves being changed almost overnight. Suddenly a peaceful farm community was rudely transformed into a busy metropolitan

suburb with many families living on land that not long ago helped to feed the very city which now had displaced it. Families that had occupied smaller or inadequate quarters found themselves at last able to move into the kind of home they wanted. Not included in the scope of this article, but definitely a part of the total metropolitan area church picture, is the urgent need for new mission congregations to bring the Gospel to these growing urban edges. It is estimated that if the Lutheran Church in America is to maintain its present outreach, that is to say, if it is to bring its witness to the same proportion of the new population, approximately 300 new churches per year will be needed for the next twenty years.

A fourth factor is the increasing part that the automobile is playing in the American family pattern. Once considered an item to be owned by the very fortunate few, it has now become an almost indispensable part of every American family. The rapid advances in technology and mechanization, the perfection of mass production techniques, and the constant bombardment of the American mind by advertisers through the media of radio, movies, and newspapers have quickened the evergrowing demand for automobiles. This automotive impact has resulted in still greater extension of the boundaries of our urban centers. It is not uncommon for many people to live twenty or thirty miles from their place of work. Though this is by no means typical or average, it does represent a trend towards an increasing separation between a man's place of work and his place of residence.

A fifth and closely related factor is that of population mobility — the changing of residence of large numbers of our American people. The more easily available transportation, together with the increased economic status of the average American family, makes it possible for people to travel about far more easily. Tradition and a deep rootage in the community tend to become less important in the American's scale of values. Even so it is surprising that we find almost 20% of the

national population changing residence each year. According to figures of the United States Bureau of the Census, some 30 million people have moved from one residence to another within the calendar year for the last several years. This is a migration which is difficult to comprehend, and its effects are far-reaching.

Perhaps a few statistics from the Census Bureau will shed some light upon this matter. In 1950 California had a population of approximately 9,500,000. Of this total figure better than 60% were born outside the State. For example, 264,000 of these Californians were born in New York State — more than 2,500 miles away. A look at what these figures mean in certain specific metropolitan areas will clarify the picture still further. The San Francisco Bay Area, which is one of our newer and fastest growing metropolitan centers, is presently increasing at a rate of more than 250 people per day. The New York City Metropolitan Area, which includes all of the land within the city limits plus the adjacent cities, towns, and suburbs, now totals approximately 15 million people. And we are told by reliable population analysts that this hub of our nation will continue to increase at the rate of 600 per day over the next two decades.

A sixth factor is that of the expanding core areas of our American cities. As the various metropolitan centers become larger and larger, the business and industrial areas generally located near the center of these cities expand. These outward thrusts by non-residential land users continue to overrun the residences adjacent to these areas, tending first to bring about deterioration and ultimately their replacement by business structures. The loss of much-needed residences causes the population living at the heart of the city to seek living quarters elsewhere.

Inasmuch as the inner city — that area closer to the center of the city — generally houses those of lowest income, these people are hard pressed to find new quarters. As they gradually move outward from the center, other groups of people are displaced, who in

turn themselves move farther out. Thus the American city can be considered more often than not as a kettle boiling over and spilling over outwards toward the suburbs. It should be mentioned at this point that the sociologists tell us that in addition to finding the lowest income groups in our central cities, we also have there the highest concentration of social problems such as juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, broken homes, illegitimacy, communicable diseases, welfare cases, etc. Conversely, as we move out farther from the inner city we find these social problems decreasing and an increase in economic status and well-being.

Lest the impression be given that there is a single set of forces at work within the American urban areas, let it quickly be added that there are whole constellations of forces that constantly transform city neighborhoods. Much is heard today about the decentralization of industry — the relocation of many of the manufacturing and commercial concerns. Part of this is due to a desire for lower taxes which can readily be achieved by locating factories in smaller communities or primarily rural areas. There is also a desire on the part of many modern industrialists, due to the gradual disappearance of the skilled craftsman and the growing number of jobs which require relatively little skill, to relocate their factories in less industrialized sections of the nation where wages will be much less. Obviously, this has been made possible by the tremendous advance in transportation and mass production.

Perhaps the most recent development in the urban scene is that of largescale efforts at slum clearance and neighborhood conservation. Every major city, and an increasing proportion of the smaller urban centers in our nation, now has a city master plan and housing programs. These are carefully analyzed and prepared programs intended to preserve some kind of stability and organization in the urban communities in spite of the various social forces that are at work. Millions of dollars are being spent both to clear out deteriorated areas and to replace

them with more adequate and healthful living quarters. At the same time, large sums are being expended to help in the preservation of existing neighborhoods. Such programs of rebuilding are beyond the means of city and state governments and therefore require large subsidies from the Federal Government. Included in these housing programs are many provided specifically for those of the lower income groups who would otherwise be unable to afford suitable quarters.

Lastly, in order to have a clearer picture of many American cities, we must recognize that there are large segments of the population that have moved into the cities from their homes across the seas. In an attempt to preserve something of their former cultural and national heritage, these new Americans have often established colonies within the American cities. Though New York and Chicago are not typical of American cities as far as size is concerned, they do serve to illustrate this point. As one drives through either of these cities he is definitely aware of the fact that for an area of several blocks around he will be in a predominantly Italian area. And then by merely crossing the street he finds himself in a predominantly Polish neighborhood for several more blocks, or perhaps a square mile.

From 1900—1925, 17 million immigrants came to the shores of these United States. Though the arrival rate is now markedly less, over 4 million immigrants have arrived since 1925. When one considers the number of people who have migrated to the United States in the last fifty years or more, he can begin to comprehend how complex and sometimes confusing is the picture of the American city.

II

It is not difficult to see some of the adjustments which the city church must make once serious consideration is given to the above factors of social change. Let us consider a typical city congregation with its building that was erected some thirty or forty years ago. The people contributed to the erection

of this house of worship and they wanted the church to be as near to their homes as possible. Regular attendance at worship services and frequent participation in programs and activities of the church during the week were stressed a great deal in this church. Thus this city church served its members in several ways, often becoming the very center of life in that neighborhood. This is no doubt an over-simplification of the American urban church situation. However, it does point to an additional tie which many people had with their church which is not found in certain other parts of the world.

The city grew and changed; the neighborhood around the church became quite different. Many members moved farther out to newer areas. The new people moving into the neighborhood were not like the people who belonged to the church. Perhaps they were of an entirely different cultural background. Yes, and many neighborhoods which were once predominantly Protestant became almost completely Catholic or Jewish. In some instances the people moving into the neighborhood were of a different race. The curse of race prejudice was to be felt in this situation too.

Many of the city churches that found themselves in this kind of situation voted to sell their church building to a denomination or sect that was anxious to move into the neighborhood and minister to these people. Then, with these funds plus additional funds contributed by the membership, they moved into an area that was more accessible and acceptable to their members. There is one church in Chicago that has relocated seven times, and there are many in the nation that have relocated twice. Not all churches followed this course of action, however. Many realized that the new people moving into the old neighborhoods needed the Gospel just as much if not more than the former inhabitants. These churches made a determined stand to bear witness to their faith to all persons within their reach. A third type of situation also resulted from such changes, namely, that a church

was neither willing or able to adjust itself to the changing community and accept the newcomers, nor had the strength to relocate. This kind of city church dies out over a period of years.

Studies of several of our city congregations have revealed some interesting findings — reflecting quite directly the impact of the social forces mentioned earlier. Perhaps the most startling bit of information is what we call the cumulative effect of mobility. In other words, what happens to a city church as a result of these population shifts and changing neighborhood patterns? A study of several hundred such churches has shown there are very few churches that have more than half of their membership of ten years ago still on their rolls. Another way of putting this is to say that almost without exception at least 50% of the present adult membership of our city churches have joined these congregations in the last ten years. The American urban church can then be seen still more clearly in the light of this information; it ministers to a procession — an ever-changing, ever-different group of people through the years.

Theologians, social scientists, and philosophers have had much to say about the ills and the liabilities of our modern urban culture. Not the least of these problems related to life in the modern city is the impersonal and rootless existence which it fosters. In I John 3:17 we read, "If any one . . . sees his brother in need, yet closes his heart against him, how does God's love abide in him?" It becomes increasingly difficult to be concerned about our brother's need in the city scene because we don't see our brother, we hardly know our brother, and the very nature of urban life inhibits such a relationship.

A rural pastor who recently began a ministry in the very heart of one of America's larger cities, made some interesting observations. "Back in South Dakota", he said, "my people would see one another several times a week — in numerous social and business contacts; we really were neighbors and knew one another. Here (in the city) my people are scattered over

great distances. It is almost impossible for me to visit them even once in two years. My people don't see one another from one Sunday to the next. They're strangers in almost every sense of the word." The impact of all this upon the city church becomes obvious — people coming and going, people who hardly know one another, whole neighborhoods being flooded by strangers. The church in this situation must make very definite attempts to bridge the gap of loneliness and prejudice which invariably exists between the old-timers and the newcomers. Evangelism plays a most vital part in whatever adjustments are attempted.

A third finding in urban church studies calls attention to the significance of lay leadership. As mentioned previously, there are numerous activities and organizations directly related to church life in the American city. The various congregational organizations elect their chosen leaders. It is understandable that, unless special attention is given to the mobility of membership, the leadership of the church will tend to become dominated by the senior members — those who have been members the longest. The new members do not know one another; it takes a period of time before they can be assimilated into the ongoing life of the congregation and become an active part of the fellowship of that church. The result is that those who have become a more integrated and cohesive group, namely the older members, tend to acquire more than their share of the leadership which should really be representative. Studies have shown that in many city churches, though one-half of the membership has joined in the last ten years, only about one-fourth of the leadership is from this newer element.

A fourth finding closely related to those previously mentioned is that of leadership distribution. For some reason the elected leaders of a church tend to live still farther away from the location of the church than does the average member. Thus still another barrier is created between the people in the neighborhood of the church and

the hearts and minds of those laymen elected to lead that congregation.

Here we see, then, a series of social forces and their related influence within the structure of the city churches. Isolation, detachment, lack of awareness, and ultimate lack of concern for the needs of the community around the church are fostered and developed by these transitions.

III

No evaluation of the American urban church scene can be complete without a realistic consideration of some of the psychological factors involved. These are not as easily discerned nor can they be stated in clear-cut statistics. Nevertheless, they are very real and have a tremendous influence on the thinking, outlook, and effectiveness of our churches. The first factor is the American "middle class" concept. This group in our society is roughly defined as that which is neither wealthy nor poor, neither intellectual nor ignorant. This concept has created in American thought a glorification of the "average" situation at the expense of sensitivity to, or awareness of, the unusual or the different situation. We strive to be an average person, to have an average community, to be an average church — all of which leads into a rather vague anonymity and an actual denial of our own God-given personality and life-situation.

With typical American efficiency and "know-how" we have attempted to create "average" church programs which are adaptable in any given situation. Even in the training of our pastors we have so played down and ignored the dynamics and the special needs in our various types of communities (rural vs. urban, inner city vs. suburban) that we have closed our eyes to the deep issues confronting anyone trying to minister in a non-middle class or untypical situation. Just one example will serve to illustrate this point. A young Puerto Rican mother struggling to care for her family in the teeming Manhattan tenement section in which she lives finds it most difficult even to understand the English

language and to know how best to feed her children. This is such a problem with her that it comes before all else in her thinking. If the church is to bring the Gospel to her it must also be concerned about this very immediate problem of hers. Specifically then, there is a need for the American church to recognize the deadening effect of our middle class idolatry and to develop a sensitivity to the unique characteristics, problems, and concerns of its neighborhood.

A second factor is the "success story" or "wish dream" emphasis. This has sometimes been called the Horatio Alger or bootstraps philosophy. We have not, as a nation, learned many of those lessons which are taught by suffering alone. Our vigor and unique success have created in many minds the thinking that if only we would try harder, if only we would work more earnestly, then no matter what the situation we could expect to see a flourishing story of success, be it in the life of an individual or in a congregation. It is not uncommon to find that unconsciously many Americans have this very idealistic picture of what their lives, their community, and their churches ought to be, and they are so bound to these preconceived goals that they cannot see the reality of their situation. One man reacted thus: "Don't bother me with the facts, my mind's made up."

Dietrich Bonhoeffer in his book *Life Together* had this to say about man and his "wish dream". "God hates visionary dreaming; it makes the dreamer proud and pretentious. The man who fashions a visionary ideal of community demands that it be realized by God, by others, and by himself. He enters the community of Christians with his demands, sets up his own law, and judges the brethren and God Himself accordingly. He stands adamant, a living reproach to all others in the circle of brethren. He acts as if he is the creator of the Christian community, as if his dream binds men together. When things do not go his way, he calls the effort a failure. When his ideal picture is destroyed, he sees the

community going to smash. So he becomes, first an accuser of his brethren, then an accuser of God, and finally the despairing accuser of himself."

A third factor might well be labeled repression. This is closely related to the preceding two factors. The American who is dedicated to the middle class way of life and is striving blindly after his "wish dream" finds reversals and failures almost unbearable. We have put a premium on the kind of person who does not speak negatively. In fact, we are presently buying millions of books that tell us how to think positively. We seem to believe that a person can examine himself and repent in the setting of a success story rather than by being humbled and made obedient at the foot of the Cross. The American finds it difficult to speak openly and frankly about problems and concerns, about setbacks and failures. The fact of the matter is that in many of these areas of acute change, of racial and ethnic shifts of population, adjustments will be slow and painful. There will be disturbances within and without the congregation. An awareness and confronting of the problems and issues involved are necessary.

A fourth factor is isolation. In the 1954 Winter issue of the *Lutheran World* Dr. Walter Freytag mentions that one of the factors in the decline of the church in North Africa was this: "The churches obviously lacked ties to and communication with the universal church." A similar situation exists in many of our inner city parishes. It must seem almost foolish to compare the isolation existing between continents centuries ago with the isolation inside modern America with its telephones, press, radio, and television. However, it is a very real issue with many pastors and laymen in these inner city congregations. The effectiveness of their witness is limited by a feeling of despair and defeat — of being cut off from the vital, active, growing areas of the church.

We discussed earlier the individual and neighborhood isolation which is fostered by the urban pattern. No doubt this isolation contributes to the

parochialism and institutional self-centeredness of many urban churches. More often than not this becomes a defense — an attempt to shut out the world around them. But in doing this, they cut themselves off from their brethren of the household of faith. One result of this "hiding in a shell" is that pastors and lay leaders from churches only a few blocks apart are oftentimes total strangers. Yes, the feeling of being apart from sister congregations and from the main stream of the church is very much in the picture of urban church analysis.

The very fact that this article is being written and that the Office of Urban Church Planning in the National Lutheran Council exists indicates that there is a growing appreciation for the distinctive problems and opportunities of the city church. An ever increasing number of congregations are humbly and honestly confronting their changing neighborhoods, and with a renewed sense of mission and dedication are serving their Lord where He has placed them. A recent study by the Rev. Jan Bengtson reports that one out of every 15 Lutheran congregations in America now serves non-Caucasians. He also adds that one in 38 is ministering to the Negro as well as to the White. More and more city churches are joining hands in prayer and in dedication to bring the Gospel as effectively as possible to ALL the people in their neighborhoods.

In order to assist churches in their adjustment to the changing communities, conferences and study programs are being conducted in numerous urban centers. Such studies, involving lay and clergy alike, enable them to sit down together and to discuss pertinent information concerning their respective areas. Congregational studies make it possible for them to discern the trends and forces at work more clearly and thereby to plan a more effective program for the years ahead. Yes, as our city churches are examining themselves and asking the question, "What doth the Lord require of us", many are guided by the Holy Spirit to a deeper sense of repentance and a new

birth. They are realizing that "He that loses his life... shall find it". This holds true for congregations too.

Walter Kloetzli, Jr.

The Church and Rural Life

Probably the name "Hosmer" means nothing to you. To the few who know Hosmer, it means a village located in the midst of the broad sweeping Dakota plains, its buildings dominated by an imposing Lutheran church which holds a cross erect against the western sky.

While you would need a map to locate this village, God does not need a map. He knows where His people dwell. The needs of all people, whether they live on the fertile plains, in the sheltered valleys, or in the congested cities come to God's attention. Man tends to be more concerned with the immediate rather than with the remote, with the dramatic rather than with the ordinary; but for God no person is remote or ordinary.

In order that the church's concern may be as broad and as deep as God's concern, the needs of all people must be constantly put into focus. The church must again and again remind itself of its responsibility to minister to people regardless of where they dwell. To keep them a part of our Christian concern is the task of the church which serves in town and country.

Ever since the Lutheran Church was established on American soil, it has been concerned about rural life. The first phase of planting the Lutheran Church in America was definitely the planting of the rural church. In late years, because of the rapid development of urban centers, our attention has been focused on planting the church among the people of our teeming cities. For a time this phase of the church's work demanded its attention to such an extent that we overlooked the need of keeping the church strong among the people of town and country.

The pastors who labored among country folk sensed this oversight and called upon the church at large to give adequate attention to keeping the Lutheran

Church strong in the areas where our pioneer fathers had planted it. As a result of this persistent demand, the National Lutheran Council was given the assignment to study the rural church and to do what would be deemed necessary to strengthen the Lutheran Church's ministry to rural people. The Division of American Missions of the National Lutheran Council has sought to achieve three general objectives:

1. *To alert* the church to carry on an energetic mission program in rural America, to push out from our area of strength, and to claim the unchurched areas for God by sharing with the people in these areas that which we have in Christ.

2. *To arouse* our constituency to the task of building a generation of God-fearing country folk who, together with their offspring, will serve as a leaven in their own communities and in the urban communities to which many of their children will migrate.

3. *To mobilize* as many of our 6,000 rural congregations and pastors as possible in a sustained effort to secure our rural heritage. The mobilized rural church needs to make use of every legitimate resource to aid it in the building of Christian communities as it continually weaves the red thread of divine redemption into the fabric of community living.

How soon these objectives can be realized is hard to say. The important thing is that the church work toward their achievement with all the energy that it can muster. However, this energy must be so spent that the church will move forward on all fronts, for the interests and the responsibilities of the rural congregations are as wide as the whole church.

The rural church objects to being taken for granted; but in its demand for the attention of the entire church, it does not want any phase of the church's work to be neglected or to be regarded as of less importance. It has felt the sting of neglect and is, therefore, aware of the harm that is done to the total church when any part of the church is taken for granted. The rural church, also, is a member of the Body of Christ,

and we hurt the Body of Christ when the importance of any member is emphasized to the neglect of others.

For its own guidance the rural church has driven a number of stakes. No doubt, as we become more experienced in the area of church planning, some of these stakes will have to be moved and others will have to be more firmly anchored.

These guide posts are:

1. The church needs to orient its entire program to the life of the community in which it is located. For the rural church this means simply that it must orient its program to life as it is lived in the rural community. The Gospel message is the same for every community, but it must be meaningfully presented to the people of each particular community. People will need to live out the implications of the cross in the setting of rural life. The Christian faith will, therefore, become involved in such things as land, cattle, water, and machines.

The rural church must not dissipate its strength by engaging in a separate program or by making extracurricular activities its main concern. Rather, it must make the Gospel message relevant to every phase of life as it is lived in its own rural community. This involves the area of worship, parish education, youth work, the activities of auxiliary organizations, stewardship, evangelism, congregational life, and, above all, the life of the members.

Our concern is "practical sanctification", growing out of the experience of justification. We use the word "practical" advisedly because we are concerned that "sanctification" touch every area of life. We seek to assist in the building of active rural congregations which bring people into vital fellowship with God, which lead them to rejoice in this divine fellowship, and which draw from this fellowship the strength and the inspiration necessary to measure up to the task of stewardship of the community.

If the church is the Christian arsenal, the community is the field of battle. It is here that the Christian life must be lived. It is here that the Christian must

demonstrate the love of God by a genuine concern for his brother. In addition to taking an interest in the well-being of others, he must manifest a willingness to work together with his neighbor in the interest of community improvement.

2. The rural community is confronted with many problems. Many of them are of a social and economic nature. Too often the economists and the sociologists develop their economic and social systems as though God did not exist. On the other hand, theologians proceed as though economic laws were of no concern to the Christian life.

The Christian farmer must function in an economic community in which he is responsible to God. Unless economic systems are brought into harmony with God's purposes, the Christian farmer is caught in a dilemma. Rural people need help and guidance to solve their economic and social problems. They have a right to look to the church for guidance.

3. Secularism and materialism are a real threat to the well-being of mankind. Rural people are being taught new skills. They are becoming better acquainted with the mysteries of soil, plant, and animal life. They are being given new tools and machines. There is danger that this will turn them merely into more efficient selfish individuals.

God is on the side of efficiency, but the Gospel of Christ must so influence and direct the lives of rural people that they will dedicate their newly found methods and skills to God's will and use them to the best interest of their neighbor. Efficiency for efficiency's sake or for mere selfish material ends is idolatry.

4. A major portion of the church's mission work ought to be done among rural people. The church must be established in many communities where rural people live. Through the preaching, teaching, and healing ministry, it must tell rural people of God's love for mankind and His concern for the total well-being of man. Unless these rural areas are more effectively served by the church, they will increasingly become a ripe field for secularism, materialism, and paganism.

Using the above four statements as guide posts, how should a congregation like that in Hosmer, South Dakota, develop a local congregational program that will be geared to rural life and make the faith of its members effective in the community in which they live? On the basis of God's Word, it must present Christianity as the way of salvation. It must also present to those who are brought into fellowship with God through Christ, Christianity as the way of life. This means that the rural church's responsibility is to give its members a vital spiritual experience.

The church needs men who will heed God's call to the rural parish. There is still the age-old question addressed to Isaiah, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?"

Too often the importance of a call to proclaim God's message is judged by the place to which the messenger is called. The importance of a call is not determined by the place, but rather by the Author of the call. If God calls a person to serve in a certain place, who is man to evaluate its importance? God has no minor assignments. His assignments are all major. Every call that is divine is important.

The rural church must plan for and challenge energetic and alert men to serve as pastors in the rural community. At the same time the church must provide these men with adequate facilities for preaching and teaching the Gospel. This calls for worship facilities that are conducive to holding inspiring worship services. Facilities also need to be provided so that the rural church can carry on an adequate program of parish education.

The pastor in town or country must never become guilty of harboring an inferiority complex. He must learn to love and to appreciate the rural people. His love for his parish will make him eager to learn more about the general region in which his congregation is located. He will take in his stride the climatic conditions of his area. Snow storms, dust storms, muddy roads, and drizzling rains will give him a sense of adventure. Above all, he must be a shepherd to his flock.

As rural people become more efficient in providing bread for the body, so they must also become more efficient in providing bread for the soul. Rural people should be encouraged to make their place of worship a beautiful House of God that is neatly kept and lovingly cared for. The grounds surrounding the church ought to be well landscaped. Nothing is quite so inspiring as to find a beautiful House of God strategically located in a rural community where it adds beauty to the landscape and where its steeple lifts heavenward the thoughts of men.

In order that rural people might make adequate provision for proper church facilities, they must be willing to accept the necessary organizational adjustments which are dictated by the mechanized and modern community. *We are not concerned that every rural church be maintained.* Our concern is that the Lutheran Church bring an adequate ministry to people in the rural areas. If that can be best accomplished by having two churches in a given area, then we by all means should maintain two churches. If, on the other hand, the Word and Sacrament can be more effectively brought to a rural district by combining two congregations, sentiment and love of the past should not stand in the way. We need to become mature enough in our Christian faith to believe that in some case the kingdom of God can be advanced by closing a church as well as by opening a new church.

To bring the Gospel to rural people, we must also think in terms of adequate personnel. When necessary and possible, the rural church should add a parish worker to its staff. This, however, is not within the reach of all rural congregations. In any event, the rural church must make greater use of its lay people, particularly in the teaching and visiting ministry. Lay people need to be enlisted in evangelism programs, and they need to be challenged to more consecrated stewardship. All this directly or indirectly must be evaluated in the light of how it helps the local congregation to bring the Gospel message to all the people in the community.

The church must also remain mindful of the fact that it is the Voice of God. It has the religious responsibility to speak of God's great concern for people. God's heart of love is wounded and His wrath is kindled when people are exploited in the interest of so-called agricultural efficiency. If anyone doubts this, let him read the Word of God as found in the book of Amos.

The church as the conscience of the community must speak out against that which is evil in the community. It must condemn the sins of avarice and greed, even when they parade in a legal garb and under the banner of efficiency. When its own members are guilty of such wrong-doings, it must require of them that they travel the road of true repentance. Short-term over-exploitation of the land, and depriving others of the opportunity to till God's earth by an unnecessary expansion of one's holdings are cases in point. The community must be kept mindful of the fact that God is a God of justice whose will cannot be ignored without serious consequence to society.

As the conscience of the community, the rural church must also put into focus the unmet needs of the community. The church must take an inventory of community resources and social needs. When this can be done in co-operation with other churches in the community, it is all to the good. Church members must be challenged to help discover what the needs of the community are. When they are aware of them, they must be challenged to give of their time and talents to see to it that these needs are met. The church must confront people with God so that they will recognize that He occupies a central position in their respective community and social systems.

When you take God out of our democracy, there are only weak reasons why we should strive to preserve it. When you take God out, the heart has been cut out of democracy, for the belief in equality of man before God no longer has any meaning. The rural church must confront rural people with their basic religious responsibilities — maintaining an intimate fellowship

with God and recognizing God's position in the center of human affairs.

Many evils are present in rural life. Economic and social sins are on the increase. They seek to destroy the church, the community, and the family. The rural church must defeat these evils. This it can do best by making use of the resources that Christ has entrusted to it. Jesus said, "If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained." In these words Jesus entrusted to His Church the power to declare the forgiveness of sins to repentant souls. The forgiveness of sins is a social force given to the church which is adequate to cope with the social evils of the day. We must apply this force to the problems at hand.

If in a case such as we have mentioned someone who has expanded his holdings to the detriment of his neighbor acknowledges this sin, repents, and seeks forgiveness — at that moment the church becomes a force to control the exploitation of the land. The more the church does to put the social sins of its people into focus, the more will the church make its force felt in the social areas of life.

As the church defeats evil, it must also accentuate the good. The rural church will help people to realize that rural areas can be economically secure, that life in the rural areas can be beautiful and satisfying, and that it can be devout. This, indeed, is a possibility if people are spiritually motivated to couple scientific know-how with the rich resources of rural areas in a manner which will serve the best interests of all the people in our day and in days to come.

No institution is so vital to society as the family. It is the most universal. It is the oldest institution known to man. It predates the political state and the conscious community. It is the chief builder of personality and the foundation of all other community institutions. A strong family life is a primary factor in the building of a mature people.

The rural church also needs the family. The family is the most effective

unit in the teaching of Christian truths. When family life breaks down, it becomes very difficult for the church to carry on an adequate ministry. The downtown sections of the big cities, the migrant camps, and the rural slum areas are cases in point.

The family farm is a natural setting for family life because it provides security, it encourages responsible ownership, and it fosters an opportunity for all to contribute to family needs. The family farm is a part of our rural heritage. Our religious responsibilities constrain us to see to it that it will play an even greater and more important role in the years ahead.

Any agricultural economy that weakens family farming or puts undue burdens on the family unit is evil. Our religious responsibility demands that our face be set against evil. Nor can we condone inefficient farming or marketing on the part of family-type farmers, for poor farm practices weaken the community and family living.

The rural church must strive to work out the meaning of Christian vocation. And it must do it in terms which will make it meaningful in the community in which it is located. If this be done, the farmer will realize that he has been called by God to be a co-worker in providing food and fiber so that the hungry will be fed and the naked will be clothed. He will recognize it as a part of his Christian duty to be a wise and efficient farmer. He will seek to improve his skill and understanding in order that he may better serve the God who has created and redeemed man. This service he renders by serving more unselfishly the neighbor he meets in his immediate community and also the neighbor who is a part of his world community.

We have a responsibility to work for an agricultural economic pattern that encourages and makes possible efficient family farming — a type of farming and marketing that strengthens rural life at its roots and makes the productivity of the land available to the hungry in a dignified manner. The self-respecting person wants to earn his bread, not to be the object of continuous

charity. As I appraise the trends in rural America, it seems to be the purpose to use scientific know-how so that two blades of grass will grow where one grew before. However, this tends to result in one family living where two lived before.

The family-type farm is the natural habitat for a family. The farm family, securely situated on a family-type farm, ministered to by the rural church, is the builder of men. We have a religious responsibility to see to it that the number of family-type farms will not decrease. We must challenge wise men in the field of economics and scientific agriculture to come forth with just and practical proposals that will multiply the number of secure, family-type farm units. Any effort spent in this direction is effort spent in the interest of strong families. Strong families make more feasible the building of a God-fearing nation.

Families need to live in a community. Family life, no matter how ideal, is not complete if its members do not have a sense of belonging to a community. Community is something about which we all talk but about which we do all to little. Yet, good community life is basic for the building of mature personalities. Too often its various organizations and businesses approach a community from the viewpoint of how they can use it rather than from the viewpoint of how they can serve the community. The church has not been guiltless in this respect. In the years ahead it must become a part of the rural church's responsibility to develop a sense of community on the part of all.

If anyone wonders whether these things ought to be the concern of a Christian, he should re-read Luther's explanation of what is meant by daily bread and should searchingly ask whether it is a correct statement of Scriptural truth. Surely the upright Christian will take reasonable and energetic steps to achieve the things for which he prays. He will not expect God to provide food without work, nor will he expect the Christian community to become a reality without social effort.

In the true community, the idea of

service must be uppermost in the minds of people. People are not to be regarded as a means of realizing the selfish ends of an individual or a group of individuals. Work is, above all, a service to the community rendered for the sake of God. Talents, inventive ability, and the knack of leading people are not to be used for the purpose of dominating and exploiting others. Rather they are means by which men can obtain mastery over nature for the welfare of the community.

Where this deep sense of community spirit exists, there will be no conflict between the community's various institutions and organizations. Their first concern will not be to perpetuate themselves selfishly, but to lose themselves in the service of people and the welfare of the community. Christ said, "For whoever would save his life will lose it, and whoever loses his life for my sake will find it." This is a part of the economy of God. Although it sounds paradoxical, it works.

People in town and country must be brought to the realization that they belong to the same community. Their interests must not be pitted against each other, but their efforts must be co-ordinated in the interest of the total community. This calls for mutual understanding and concern. There must be a true sense of belonging together and a spirit of mutual helpfulness to improve the quality of living for all.

We need to develop this deep sense of community at the local level, but it must also be fostered at the state and the national level. This is a part of our religious responsibility. A mass which is organized purely for secular purposes to attain material advantages is not a community.

Rural people constitute a major part of the world's population. Many forces are competing for their minds and their souls. The Christ of Calvary has redeemed them with His blood. To His church He has given the command, "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations." This includes the lonely shepherd watching his flock on wind-swept prairies. It includes the miner working deep in the bowels of the earth.

And it includes the man who pilots the space ship in the stratosphere. A responsible church will include all in its missionary concern. E. W. Mueller

The Chaplain Service in the American Armed Forces

A unique phenomenon in the history of religion obtains in the chaplaincy services of the American Armed Forces. Trained in colleges, universities, and theological seminaries with the diverse views on theology, church polity, and liturgical practices for which the American churches are known, chaplains represent the 200 or more Protestant denominations, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Orthodox, Reformed, and Liberal Synagogues in Judaism. In spite of such far-reaching and seemingly insurmountable differences, they are co-operating without compromise of conscience in matters of doctrine and practice on both administrative and operational levels.

Committed to the ideal that their sons and daughters "shall not walk alone" when away from the stabilizing influences of home, community, and church, the American denominations have permitted their ministers, priests, and rabbis to volunteer to accompany their congregations in uniform to every Army, Navy, and Air Force installation scattered in many lands.

By specific regulation of the various armed services, the minister, priest, or rabbi must have a college and seminary degree, or its equivalent, be ordained, and approved by his denomination for service in the military chaplaincy. The services accept the endorsement of his ecclesiastical superiors as qualifying him for the military ministry. He is expected to minister to his military congregation in the way in which he has been trained by his college and seminary.

In order to guarantee as complete denominational coverage as possible the services suggest quotas for chaplains from the various denomina-

tions proportionate to their number in the denominational breakdown of the American churches. This procedure makes for as equitable representation as is possible in such a venture.

Many churches have instituted the practice of issuing a letter of call to a minister who seems a likely candidate for the military chaplaincy. This practice has placed the chaplaincy on a level with the congregational, home, or foreign mission ministry.

Training

When a clergyman with the proper qualifications, citizen of the United States, having the minimum educational qualifications, found physically qualified for general service, regularly ordained and endorsed by the appropriate office of his particular denomination, and being over 21 years but under 33 years of age accepts the call to the military chaplaincy, he receives a commission of 1st Lieutenant in Army and Air Force and Lieutenant Junior Grade in the Navy. If he chooses to come to Active Duty in one of the services, he attends first a Chaplain Training School maintained separately by each of the three services, where he is given a basic orientation course covering the following topics: general military administration, Character Guidance methods, denominational coverage requirements, customs and courtesies of the service, courts-martial procedures, counselling, pulpit and microphone techniques. This is an eight week course. Upon graduation from the branch service school he goes to his first assignment which is ideally made so as to enable him to learn his way around in the military ministry by working under the close supervision of a senior chaplain.

On his first assignment the neophyte chaplain will be introduced to the chaplaincy program as it is conducted in that service. While there are slight variations among the three services, all three place paramount importance on the religious, Character Guidance, and counselling programs.

The Religious Program

Regardless of rank or nature of assignment, the chaplain is first and always a minister, priest, or rabbi, representing the churches and synagogues of America to the American youth in uniform. The armed services have guaranteed American parents that their youth will have a religious ministry. Religious duties are, therefore, the chaplain's paramount responsibility. For carrying out such a program the services have made available non-denominational chapel buildings, appointed in an attractive manner so as to make the service man or woman desire to participate in the worship and chapel program as he did in his home community, and to encourage others who have no religious background to join him in the hour of worship. Building of chapels is a command responsibility, and in this, as in all his activities, the chaplain is only an advisor to his commanding officer. The responsibility for the chaplain program rests with the command.

The zealous clergyman in the Army, Navy, or Air Force, surrounded as he is daily by men and women who have never been inside a chapel or synagogue, finds many opportunities to win young people and tie them to organized religion. One year one Navy Chaplain of the United Lutheran Church in America baptized or confirmed almost 200 young service people. This is a home mission project of no mean proportions! In the last year of record about 3,000 Chaplains performed 43,316,323 religious ministrations. It cannot be stressed sufficiently that the chaplain, though a commissioned officer, is primarily a clergyman in uniform representing his denomination.

While attendance at the church services is entirely voluntary, the Air Force and the Navy regard attendance at the first Sunday service in boot camp as a necessary part of the serviceman's orientation. Under a purely voluntary system of church attendance, the Chaplains have employed many unique devices for drawing members of their military communities to participate in

the chapel program. Wherever possible they have sought to set up a congregational organization much akin to the normal civilian congregation with Sunday School, Bible Classes, adult training classes, altar guilds, ladies aids, men's clubs, and even boards of deacons, trustees, and church councils.

Chaplains on Air Force bases have instituted a system of "Guides", whereby one member of each of the administrative units is responsible for advertising the chapel program and issuing personal invitations to attend. Army chaplains have a similar plan of keeping personnel informed by using an officer or an enlisted man from each company for similar purposes. Beyond a purely informational function, they often keep a "chaplain's corner" in the company day room in neat order and supplied with religious tracts.

Character-Training Program

Under American law compulsory church attendance is illegal. However, cognizant of the fact that a large number of inductees into the Armed Services have never had any formal character-training such as would be available in regular church or synagogue attendance, Sunday and Sabbath School, Boy and Girl Scout activities, and other youth character-building agencies, after World War II, the services launched out on a project known as the Character Guidance Program. This is not the chaplain's responsibility, but he plays a major role in its functioning.

Character Guidance councils are established on every echelon of command. These study and explore all possible avenues and media through which the moral aspects of service life can be improved. Of major significance in this program are the chaplain's Character Guidance discussion topics. A series of about 80 such lectures has been prepared concerning such subjects as: Our Moral Defenses, Sincerity, Justice, My Example, Prejudice, Self-Reliance, Thrift, My Right to the Truth, Fair Play, As You Would Be Done By, and

Humility. These discussion topics have been incorporated into the regular training schedules so as to be given two hours per month to all basic trainees and one hour per month to all other service personnel. Since they are a part of the training schedule, attendance is compulsory. Because they deal with subjects based upon the concept of natural law concerning which all denominations are in agreement, and because Chaplains do not inject denominational religious ideas, attendance can be made compulsory without infraction of constitutional law.

This training project has been hailed as unique in American Character-Training attempts and has been adopted by industry and other organizations vitally interested in improving Human Relations.

The Personal Counselling Program

The chaplain in the American Armed Services has come to be recognized as a personal counsellor who has potentially greater rapport with service personnel than any other officer. The pastor has always been a counsellor, yet never with such stature as in the services. A questionnaire prepared at a Naval boot camp asked inductees fresh from civilian life to state with whom they would confer if they had a problem in civilian life. At the end of their boot training they were asked a similar question. Whereas at first only 3.6 % stated they would have contacted their civilian priest, minister, or rabbi, after eight weeks in the Navy 74.1 % said they would take their problem to the chaplain.

Every chaplain knows that behind many common problems posed by the serviceman such as how to get an emergency pass or furlough, how to get compassionate reassignment, etc., lie some of the deepest problems that trouble the human soul.

Not only is the serviceman encouraged to see the chaplain whenever he personally feels the need of some help; upon arrival at the reception center as well as throughout his service career, the soldier, sailor, airman will find that every

time he reports to a new station one of the first people he sees is the chaplain. On many installations special marriage clinics have been set up where the candidates for marriage are given premarital counselling.

Besides his regular calls at homes of the installation, the Chaplain also makes regular (daily, if possible) visitations to personnel incarcerated in the brig or guardhouse and to the hospital or sick bay.

Miscellaneous Activities

The Navy Chaplain may from time to time be assigned collateral duties, such as ship's librarian, editor of the ship's newspaper, and some recreational functions.

The Air Force have a program called Humanitarian Activities by which they encourage offerings and gifts to charities and various relief agencies. A program of cultural leadership attempts to foster interest in the arts as they apply to the enrichment of life and to the development of the spiritual life through music appreciation, concerts, dramatic presentations, choirs and glee clubs, conducted tours to museums, art galleries and places of historical interest.

Advanced Training

The impression must not be left that a basic course is the only training available to chaplains. As the clergyman in the armed services continues his career, several opportunities for more advanced training are open to him, to fit him specially for service on higher echelons of command as an advisor to the commanding officer.

1. Advanced courses at the Chaplain School (Army).
2. Government-paid instruction at civilian seminaries and universities.
3. Attendance at Command and General Staff College, and Army War College.
4. Conferences and Seminars.

In the 180 years of history of the chaplaincy in the American armed services, tens of thousands of clergymen

of all denominations have served for a time in the Army, Navy, and Air Force, bringing God to men and men to God. This broadening experience of many church leaders in the armed services in which they have participated has had a profound effect on the American churches' ability to speak the language of their day and generally to be in step with each generation.

Engelbrecht O. Midboe

India

250 Years of Lutheran Work in South India

Growth and Decline

Jubilees can generally be divided into two kinds: those of a concrete, historical, chronological occasion, and those recalling creative beginnings that still continue. If the 250-year jubilee of the Tranquebar mission belonged to the first group one would certainly not make much ado about it; for then Ziegenbalg and Plütschau, the first Evangelical India missionaries merely carried out what was in the air in any case: someone just had to make the beginning. That this, however, does in no way do justice to their achievement has already been conclusively demonstrated in these columns (Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 53-57). A British historian, Bishop Stephen Neill, has acknowledged "that a new epoch in the development and spread of the church in the world began" on that July 9, 1706, the day the two pioneer missionaries landed in Tranquebar. What counts before the forum of history is not only the fact that these men started work in Tranquebar, but the manner in which they accomplished it, that it was granted them in their outwardly very modest task to lay the foundation for the overwhelming part of all later Evangelical mission in India.

What, among other things, made it outstanding was the fact that the old Tranquebar mission knew how to strike a healthy balance between perseverance in a given area of activity and a long-term view. On the one hand, Ziegenbalg's activities stood under the motto

which Breithaupt, one of the Halle fathers, passed on to him: "If you honestly lead one soul among these foreign peoples to God it counts as much as if you were to win one hundred in Europe." On the other hand Ziegenbalg was able to state after four years' labor that "everything that has happened so far has been mere preparation for a future large-scale conversion of the heathen". Very soon after his arrival he had already written a friend that their scouting would "prepare the way a little for our successors who will then find a far greater harvest". This is no baroque extravagance but hard-won certainty of faith which was not denied its fulfillment despite all setbacks, disappointments, and mistakes of which there was no lack from the outset, and which from the beginning marked the work at Tranquebar as a mission in tribulation.

The long road from Tranquebar mission to today's Lutheran Church in India, was likewise destined to be anything but smooth and straight. Surveying the first large phase, the period from 1706 to 1740, a clearly-marked break is apparent. The first two generations until about 1770 were a period of growth, followed by a decline which almost led to death. The first period is the time of great pioneering figures. As early as 1719, Ziegenbalg is buried before the altar of the New Jerusalem church in Tranquebar, followed a year later by his co-worker Gründler. But a few years later the work is continued in the spirit of its founders by missionaries Pressier and Walther, as learned as they are energetic, and later it is deepened and enlarged by Fabricius, the Berlin translator of Bible and hymnal, by the "royal chaplain" Chr. Fr. Schwartz, capable Gericke, and many another. By 1770 a net of Tamil, Portuguese and, almost incidentally, English and German, congregations is spread over all eastern South India, from Madras in the north into the extreme south. The continuing wars between the colonial powers of Great Britain and France did not always interfere with growth; indeed, they occasionally opened up new

possibilities. An isolated outpost high up in the north, there is a congregation in Calcutta — long before William Carey.

The heartbeat and center of the work continued at Tranquebar. Here Indian pastors and catechists were trained, here (and later also in Madras) Bibles, hymnals, and tracts to carry the Good News far afield were printed. Here missionary schools were at work which provided a model for all others. Here the missionaries of the various stations met regularly to discuss in brotherly conference the questions and problems of their work. For the whole enterprise lacked all firm organization. No mission propst was appointed after Gründler's death. Halle continued as the actual home base, though the congregations in and around Tranquebar officially remained under the control of the Danish Mission Board in Copenhagen, and for most of the outlying stations like Madras, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, the missionaries' salary was provided by the British Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK). Yet the missionaries were selected and sent exclusively by Halle. This confessionally and organizationally loose structure may appear highly hazardous nowadays. But despite occasional tension it proved itself in this initial period. What kept the work going even without complicated apparatuses was the spirit of "first love", and it was this spirit that made it possible for German pietists, Danish orthodox, and even Anglicans to support the Tranquebar mission together and on the whole even harmoniously, a mission which retained its distinctively Lutheran character throughout. Can one at this stage speak of an Indian Lutheran Church?

Whoever measures only with the rule of statistics will be disappointed. At Ziegenbalg's death the congregation numbered 250 members and while the total number of Christians had risen to about 20,000 after two generations, it later declined. The inward and external conditions for mass conversions were lacking. All the same, a congregation had been gathered that listened to and read the Gospel in its own language

and received the blessings of the Sacraments — a tabernacle of God in the midst of India's population, shaky in many respects and by no means perfect, yet richly blessed and a blessing for many. One other thing deserves at least a mention: in contrast to later developments, the Tamil Lutheran Christians of that period came, for the greater part, not from the pariah caste but from the higher Sudra castes.

It is one of the most obscure dispensations of the history of missions that these two generations of growth were followed by a similar period of steady decline. Halle, once the center of pietistic missionary will, became a bulwark of enlightenment which necessarily regarded missions as a senseless and purposeless venture. Even the mission secretary in Copenhagen wrote that one must suspect anyone who "changes his religion". Gifts from home decreased and even more disastrous was the lack of suitable missionary recruits. No wonder that the structure out in the field also began to totter. They are Tranquebar missionaries who now demand abolition of the Lutheran catechism for instance, who want to work with only excerpts from the Bible, who spend their time founding secular schools and studying natural science, and who finally speak resignedly of the "dying out" of missions. The congregations increasingly become flocks without shepherds, and by 1825 the number of Christians is reduced to about 10,000. In general, 1825 became the black year for the missions: it brought from Denmark a decree that evangelistic work was to be all but given up and only educational work carried on. Almost simultaneously the English SPCK surrendered its share of the work to the high-church Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). This transfer finally turned the former co-operation between Lutherans and Anglicans into systematic anglicanization of the greater part of the Tranquebar mission (all save Tranquebar itself). For after all, as Anglican bishop Middleton expressed it at the time, the Anglican Church was "the queen of Protestant churches".

This is not the place to show how the heritage of the old Tranquebar mission continued, in spite of this, to be indirectly effective at this very period in many areas where new missions took up the work, even beyond India. This, of course, hardly affects the sad conclusion that the Indian Lutheran Church that grew out of the Tranquebar mission was brought to the brink of destruction not so much by its own weakness as by the failure of the sending agencies. Not a single Tamil congregation was consulted about the transfer to the Anglican church, but then no one apparently thought it necessary to defend himself against this unprecedented change of confession — and this does not reflect only upon the Anglican but also upon the Lutheran mission whose weakness made this change-over possible. We are not set as judges over our fathers, but it could well be that the decline of the Tranquebar mission is marked as a warning for all times by the Lord's word: "It is necessary that temptations come, but woe to the man by whom the temptation comes!"

The New Beginning

"Germany has abandoned Tranquebar once; may it not happen a second time!" With this warning from Tranquebar a new missionary aroused the conscience of his homeland. He was Heinrich Cordes, sent to India in 1840 by the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society of Dresden (founded in 1836), later of Leipzig. Recognizing that only a Lutheran mission could revive Tranquebar's heritage and continue it, the new Society had stepped into the breach. The situation was in many respects similar to the first pioneer period: the Danish colonial authorities were anything but accommodating in the beginning. The loss of the congregations outside Tranquebar to the Anglicans restricted the work to the small Danish territory which, however, was very soon to pass into British hands. A new foundation had to be laid through untiring labor on small details. There was no lack of tribulation. Two newly-sent missionaries left Cordes alone in Tranquebar and attempted a mission in the

Telugu area north of Madras. The times of friendly neighborly relations with non-Lutherans seemed irrevocably past in Tranquebar. Not only the Roman Catholics but also the Wesleyan mission began to fish in Tranquebar waters, and as the Danes prepared the sale of Tranquebar to the British, the Anglican bishop immediately laid claim to the mission. The firmness with which Cordes rejected this request was rewarded. Once again did the Danish king save the Tranquebar mission, for it was upon his express wish that in the course of the sale of Tranquebar, the mission was handed not to the British but to the Lutheran Dresdeners, at first only temporarily, but permanently in 1847, after the Lutheran Tamil community had presented a petition.

Soon it appeared that the Lutheran Church had not died out even outside Tranquebar. All that the last Danish-Halle missionaries had lost, so Cordes later wrote, was paid back with interest, as it were. As early as 1845 it was possible to establish the first new station outside Tranquebar territory — this time with the friendly support of the British; and soon other parishes in Tamilland followed because they saw in the Lutheran mission the legitimate successor to the Danish-Halle mission whom they wanted to join. This inevitably led to unpleasant controversies with the English who charged the Lutherans with dishonest proselytism. The question of caste became the main point at issue, for here the English acted much more rigorously than the Lutheran missionaries, so that the conjecture that the newly-won or re-won members were attracted to the Lutherans because of their more tolerant attitude towards the caste system was probably not too wide of the mark. This issue led to deleterious quarrels within the Lutheran mission as well.

The re-establishment of a unified Lutheran church was made difficult by the fact that the congregations were scattered over the whole Tamil territory, that is an area considerably larger than today's Eastern zone of Germany. The missionary stations' territories were excessively large and there was

never enough time left for evangelistic work. This necessarily affected the numerical development of the mission. To be sure, the total number of souls rose from less than 5,000 in the year 1860 to 13,720 in the year 1885 and 22,033 shortly before the first World War. But this number could have been greater had not apostasy, migration, and famine caused relatively large losses. At any rate, the Lutheran church had once again gained ground in India. The fear expressed by many adversaries that God would deny His "vindicating blessing" to this act of banditry was not fulfilled. The words which Karl Graul, the most eminent director the Leipzig mission has ever had, spoke in 1849 continued to be true: "The cause we seek to serve must be a great and good cause, since it did not perish even under our weak hands, under such unfavorable circumstances, and with so many blunders, but has visibly grown. For we did not carry forward the cause; the cause carried us along..."

Incidentally, Graul had also set the Leipzig mission the goal of becoming the mission of "the Evangelical Lutheran Church of all lands". For the church carries on missions, he wrote in 1845, and not missions the church. In actual fact, the missionary endeavor became one of the more outstanding means for the beginning unification of Lutheranism, especially in Germany. But the structural differences between the Lutheran churches were too great to make possible the utilization of all the churches' strength for Tamil missions, and in the beginning Graul had perhaps not been able to avoid entirely the danger of equating community of spirit and of confession with outward uniformity. It was one of the greatest disappointments of his life when the news of the foundation of the Hermannsburg mission by Louis Harms reached him while on his Indian journey (1849).

Even earlier, another branch of Lutheran missions had set itself up in South India, and Tranquebar had been an indirect godfather to this beginning. The British Church Missionary Society (CMS) which in 1814 had taken over the rich

inheritance of the old Danish-Halle mission at Tinnevely in the very south of India's east coast, had sent out the German K. Rhenius in 1820, initially to Tranquebar for orientation. He was a graduate of Pastor Jänicke's Berlin mission school, itself instigated by the Tranquebar mission. Rhenius had then very successfully worked at Tinnevely until he left the Anglican society in 1835 for confessional reasons. Since he intended to continue his work independently, he asked American Lutherans for support. They thereupon decided to send not only money but also a missionary. When the latter, German-born C. F. Heyer, finally reached India after many complications in 1842, Rhenius was no longer alive and Heyer became the pioneer of American Lutheran missions in the land of the Telugus. Thus Tranquebar helped, at least indirectly, to provide American Lutherans with their first own mission work in India. It soon grew, and flourished vigorously, and from it developed what is today the strongest Lutheran church in India, the Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church.

In 1865, Hermannsburg launched a mission to the Telugus in close cooperation with the Americans, filling in the geographic gap between the latter and Leipzig. After the first World War this work passed entirely into the hands of the American Ohio Synod. Just like the Hermannsburgers who started their work with a former Leipzig missionary, Mylius, so the Danish Mission Society had made a new beginning just before, in 1863, with the help of a missionary who had left the Leipzig mission because of the disputes over caste. He did not fulfil all the hopes set upon him, but he did lay the foundation for the Danish missionary activity south of Madras which gave birth to today's Arcot Lutheran Church. Twenty years later, after an unsuccessful start in the Jeypore district, the first missionaries of the Schleswig-Holstein mission society of Breklum took up their work in the northern Telugu area. And, finally, the American Missouri-Synod also found its first mission territory in South India when their first missionaries, Naether and Mohn, who both had

also resigned from the Leipzig mission, were sent into the area between Madras and Bangalore. This work was later extended to South-Travancore and Tinnevely in the extreme south, as well as to Malabar in the west.

While we need not here discuss the Lutheran missions in central and northern India, we still have to mention the Swedish Lutheran mission which, in 1853, entered into close collaboration with Leipzig in the Tamil area and continued this later when the mission was taken over by the Swedish Church herself. Individual Lutheran missionaries have to this day been active in the Basle South-India mission as well, and one of them, a German from the Lutheran Church of Württemberg has now become a bishop in the united Church of South India.

Surveying this development, abruptly interrupted by the first World War, the predominant impression at first may be one of deplorable fragmentization. The Tranquebar heritage did indeed have to overcome numerous internal crises in the 19th century, and the fact that not a few of the new Lutheran beginnings in South India were launched by missionaries who for some reason or another had separated from the Leipzig mission can provide food for thought in our day. Could this multiplicity of Lutheran mission activity ever produce an Indian Lutheran Church?

There was, however, a good deal of necessity in the development and, on the whole, even a blessing. The geographic extension of Lutheran mission activity over almost all of South India would hardly have been possible had one Lutheran society prevailed with a monopolistic claim, giving no leeway to other Lutheran forces. Yet the audacious ideas of the youthful Graul had not been in vain, even though they could not be put into practice in his own day. The first all-India Lutheran conference was held in 1908; from it eventually resulted the present Federation of Lutheran Churches in India, much strengthened by the trials of the two wars. Only the evolution of independent Lutheran churches after the first World War and the gradual with-

drawal of the missions was able to advance this development effectively. A later article in these columns will give an account of that. Whether this Lutheran unity will turn out to be but a wayside station along the road to Lutheran participation in more inclusive church union in South India, it is too early to say. Even if this should happen, one of Graul's sayings which we may say characterizes the continuous relationship from the old Tranquebar to today's Lutheran Church of South India, will continue to be true: "As far as human influences are concerned, we have become what we are because of the good confession of our fathers."

Hans W. Gensichen

Germany

The Martin Luther Bund and Lutheran Unity in Germany

The care and support of the German Lutheran diaspora, to the extent that it is today carried out by the Martin Luther Bund, has from its very inception, that is for more than 100 years, been closely connected with efforts towards Lutheran unity. An exception is the Hannoverian church's care for South Africa. This originated in 1799 at the time when the previously Dutch Cape Colony became British and the rather numerous Lutherans in Cape Town requested a "preacher from His Majesty's German territory", from which in the course of years has evolved the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of South Africa which still is supplied by Hannover. Another exception were the individual candidates for the ministry who crossed to North America as preachers during the 40s of the last century. Only one need be named: Friedrich Konrad Wyneken (1810—1876), born in Verden.

Moved by descriptions of the hopeless conditions among German emigrants, he left in 1838 to serve as a minister. His calls for aid to the homeland achieved great importance. Small associations for the sending of

preachers to North America were established; one in Dresden, existing under a kind of personal union with the then Dresden (later Leipzig) Mission through its director Trautmann, and another in the Stade area, the last by no means consciously Lutheran. Had not even Wyneken himself left for America "as a fiery zealot against any specific churchliness", according to a remark of Petri's, the *pastor pastorum* of the Hanoverian revival movement? Only there did he become a self-conscious Lutheran in the face of the incalculable diversity of religious communities and sects. The Stade association published Wyneken's "Appeal for the Support of the German Protestant Church in North America" which later came to W. Löhe's attention, who distributed it in turn.

Wyneken, who had the impression that his letters and appeals for help did not have the effect in Germany that he had hoped, returned for some time to Germany in order to promote the cause himself; he personally visited leaders of the Lutheran church such as the previously-mentioned Trautmann in Dresden; Harless in Erlangen; and Huschke, the chairman of the General Church Council (Oberkirchenkollegium) of the Lutheran Church in Prussia, the so-called Breslau Free Church. Then he wrote Petri that the whole German Lutheran church should join in sending preachers to North America. Hannover, having access to the sea, should take over leadership in diaspora welfare just as Saxony was in the forefront in Lutheran missions to the heathen and Bavaria, through the Faculty at Erlangen, in Lutheran theology. Bavaria, Saxony, and Breslau were prepared. It was just the time when Petri had called all those pastors who were explicitly confessional to a conference, the first of the Hanoverian Whitsun Conferences that this year can look back on a 113 years' history. Wyneken's letter arrived during the meeting and was read in the course of the afternoon. It was enthusiastically received and Petri was instructed to enter into correspondence with Huschke, Trautmann, and Harless. He did so, and mighty

plans were discussed at the time, especially by Huschke. There were dreams of a German Lutheran Church which, as such, was to engage in work in the diaspora. The plans remained a vision; their time was not yet.

Thus the work was launched at a few separate points. Dresden, in addition to its actual mission activity, trained some pastors for America. It proved even more important that Trautmann referred Adam Ernst, a shoemaker who wanted to be trained as a preacher, to his home territory, where he was directed to Löhe and became the first of the band trained at Neuendettelsau. Thus Löhe took the work in hand, and Hanoverian Petri, cautious and opposed to anything contrived, considered that this work had, "historically grown" into Löhe's hands, and henceforth he supported the latter's activity.

To all intents and purposes, general care for the diaspora had remained the task of the Gustavus-Adolphus Society, as far as the German churches were concerned. But in the 40s, the Society was drawn into a crisis through Uhlich, the father of the "free association of Protestant friends", and the so-called "friends of light". This proved to be the occasion for the founding of the first Lutheran "Gotteskasten" (the Lord's treasure box). Because they were unable "to approve the ecclesiastic principles of the Gustavus-Adolphus Society" and yet wholeheartedly approved "the good work of supporting our Christian brethren-in-the-faith in their distress", Petri, General Superintendent Steinmetz of Clausthal, and Superintendent Münchmeyer in Catlenburg joined in "setting up a Lord's treasure box to this end", on October 31, 1853. This was no large organization, not even an association, however loose, but just simply a Lord's treasure box, almost a private collecting point for gifts sent to the founders. This foundation had no connection with efforts for Lutheran unity which, indeed, waned during the 50s, but was a purely local matter. In fact Hannover saw a second association established in 1856, the Stade "Lutherverein",

which was organized somewhat more firmly than the Hannoverian Gotteskasten and existed independently beside the latter until 1931. At any rate, the first Gotteskasten was followed as early as 1854 by two others in Saxony and Mecklenburg, in 1857 by one in Lauenburg, and in 1860 by a Bavarian one; all these existed side by side almost without any contact.

Not until a new wave of such foundations set in in 1879, creating the Wurttemberg Gotteskasten, one in the Marburg section of electoral Hesse in 1880¹, and in 1887 one in Hamburg, did this occur in any relationship to the Lutherans' quest for unity. In 1868 the General Evangelical Lutheran Conference had been founded in Hannover for fear that as a result of the annexations of 1866 several Lutheran Landeskirchen might be placed under a Union Church government. Harless was its president. At its second meeting in 1870 a special conference was held for the Gotteskasten, not only in order to interest wider circles in their cause, but to initiate closer ties between the existing "treasure boxes". The latter then decided that the Conference itself should represent such a link; the next General Lutheran Conference did not, however, take place until 1879 (in Nuremberg). Here the "treasure boxes" decided to arrange a special Gotteskasten conference in 1880 to further mutual understanding. This gathering took place in Hannover. At the fourth General Lutheran Conference in Schwerin, 1882, a further step was taken with the creation of an annual conference of delegates of the "treasure boxes", from which evolved in 1885 an Association, if a loose one, of the "treasure boxes". Characteristically, this resulted in a further series of new foundations: a Gotteskasten was created in Oldenburg in 1895, in Schleswig-Holstein in 1896, in Brunswick and in Thuringia in 1899; 1900 saw Gotteskasten in the Lutheran "Klasse" of the duo-denominational Church of Lippe and in the Lutheran Church of Old

Prussia. To these was added another one in 1919 in the Badensian Free Church.

The German Lutherans' quest for unity received fresh stimulus after the princes ceased to be primates of the churches. This in turn did not leave the "treasure boxes" unaffected. 1927 saw the creation of a German Lutheran bishops' conference as a result of a suggestion made at the central body of the General Evangelical Lutheran Conference at Marburg in 1926, and this became the embryo of the present United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany. In 1928 Prof. Ulmer of Erlangen became chairman of the Association of allied "treasure boxes". He achieved closer unification of 18 "treasure boxes" into the Lutheran Aid Association of the Allied Treasure-Box Societies and even, in 1932, the yet tighter association in the Martin Luther Bund. Apart from the German Martin Luther Associations (Vereine or Werke) as the Gotteskasten almost all call themselves today, and the "Society for Foreign and Inner Missions in agreement with the Lutheran Churches" in Neuendettelsau, membership includes the Martin Luther Verein in Austria and in Switzerland, the Society for Foreign and Inner Mission in Alsace Lorraine and, beyond that, such foreign and overseas churches as the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Brazil, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Netherlands, the Hermannsburg German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of South Africa, and the Free Evangelical Lutheran Synod in South Africa. In 1953 the youngest child was born in Germany, in the form of the Lower Saxon Martin Luther Verein within the small independent Evangelical Lutheran church in Baden, Hesse, and Lower Saxony, which in turn had grown out of a merger of the Hermannsburg-Hamburg, the Hannoverian, the Hessian Independent, and the Badensian Free Churches, to which must now be added some of the independent ("renitent") Hessian congregations.

It is therefore apparent that the history of the Martin Luther Bund still

¹ This upper Hessian section of electoral Hesse was Lutheran, under the protection afforded by the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648.

maintains a certain relationship to the efforts towards Lutheran unity and that this applies at what is, at the moment in Germany, its most sensitive spot — the relation of Lutheran Landeskirchen and Free Churches. Those Free Churches that did not reject intercommunion with the Landeskirchen in principle, as do the Missouri Synod and the Hannoverian Free Church, but had maintained church fellowship and intercommunion with all the Landeskirchen whose *publica doctrina* was Lutheran (e.g. the Old Prussian and the Badensian Free Church), did, of course, repudiate such communion fellowship in 1947 because the Landeskirchen participated in the Evangelical Church in Germany, a federation of Lutheran, Union, and Reformed Churches. Thus it was important that at least one point of contact should remain where Landeskirchen and Free Churches could engage in a common task; this function was now fulfilled by the Martin Luther Bund. Their remaining together at this point was by no means a matter of course. There were Martin Luther societies within Lutheran Landeskirchen where several Free Churches had been established with whom no communion fellowship had ever existed and which therefore had never been supported by the Gotteskasten, while congregations of the Breslau and Badensian Free Church had been aided, indeed generously so. Was it possible to continue support to congregations that now in their turn renounced communion fellowship? Could one even expect people who did not wish to have communion fellowship to accept gifts? That it nevertheless proved possible to remain together in the Martin Luther society was a great joy to every friend of Lutheran unity. If today there are indications that this unhappy division may perhaps be healed again, no little credit is due to the fact that the Martin Luther society has held fast to unity in its work.

Today, we shall not give an account of the history of the "treasure boxes" achievement. Areas of activity had to change frequently in accordance with

the circumstances of the day. Nowadays the work has in many instances been taken over by the efforts of the organized church. What appeared as a vision to the fathers in 1842 has today become reality: diaspora work of a United German Lutheran Church and, beyond that, of a united World Federation. Perhaps one day we shall reach the point where all Lutheran diaspora work can be taken over by these bodies. In the meantime, however, there is plenty of scope for the activities of the Martin Luther society. The separate societies have a task set even within their own Landeskirchen, locating diaspora emergencies and rendering help where distress has been caused by the influx of Lutheran refugees into Catholic and Reformed areas, doing pioneer service until the Landeskirche, working through its more cumbersome apparatus and with tax moneys, can launch its work. For it is easier for the more lightly shod society than for the Landeskirchen to run a risk and to initiate experiments. Thus it is likely that the work of the Martin Luther Bund will continue for a long time yet, ever serving Lutheran unity at the same time. Paul Fleisch

Finland

800th Anniversary of the Finnish Church

No documents exist to tell us when and by whom the Christian faith was first preached in Finland or in what manner the first Christian congregation was formed here. Therefore the Finnish Church has chosen the first known date in Finnish history as a basis for its octocentenary celebration: the establishment of the Finnish diocesan chapter in 1155. The main intent of the festivities which took place in the ancient capital of the Finnish Church, Turku, was not, however, simply the commemoration of our first bishop and medieval patron saint, St. Henry, Bishop and Martyr, but

remembrance of the gift that God has granted our people in the course of the centuries through the work of many, usually unknown, servants of the Lord.

The festival service took place in ancient Turku Cathedral whose oldest part dates from the thirteenth century. Among those present were the President of the Finnish Republic, the Prime Minister, Archbishop Yngve Brilioth of Sweden, Bishop Johannes Smemo, Primate of the Norwegian Church, Bishop Hans Fuglsang, Primate of the Danish Church, the Bishop of Chelmsford representing the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Carl E. Lund-Quist, executive secretary of the Lutheran World Federation, as well as many representatives of the Diplomatic Corps, government, and the arts and sciences. Archbishop Ilmar Salomies preached the thanksgiving sermon, speaking on the Christian Message, its meaning and its victorious advance through the world, on Christ and his deeds of salvation.

"Among our people, too, these deeds have been made visible. Sinners have found grace, and the weak have found support. But the Christian faith has also shaped secular life: our social order, literature, literacy, public education, and social services. The content of the message which unites heaven and earth is love. It is a message of the love of God but also of the love which men are called to show one another. It is a message for the individual, but also for the home", the Archbishop continued, "indeed, it is a message for public life, a message that tells us that egoistic desires and uncharitable accusations ought to disappear and that we should trust one another and, bearing each other's burden, build our country, our large, common home.

"But love is not tractable and willing to comply with all things. In the Bible, 'truth' and 'love' are placed side by side. There are necessities which require battle, but such a fight should be carried out with a constructive mind.

"In any case, Christianity certainly is a message of goodwill and peace. And how should we not need aid from above in an age which sees the sun rising only

slowly after a night of destructive years and in which the leaders of the nations have so little to show for all their efforts to secure peace for the world. Thus many seek the faith to which this Ascension Day testifies, a kingdom of Christ that is not of this world but that is moving toward its victory despite all human frailty.

"When the churches of all the world found their theme for their meeting last year in the words 'Christ — the Hope of the World', many who listened to the phrase had previously been unfamiliar with the profoundest message of Christianity.

"The world waits for a peace movement made up of more than words and mass rallies, a movement that will renew hearts and fill them with peace.

"Waiting for the miracle of this power, we thank God for the mercy and grace that He has shown our people and place our uncertain future into His strong hands."

Later in the day, the town's largest hall was the scene of a celebration by the inhabitants. On this occasion Prof. Jalmari Jaakkola, Finland's foremost historian of the Middle Ages, pointed out that the Finns had been under the influence of Christian culture for several generations prior to the crusade of 1155.

The importance of that date's events are to be found primarily in the fact that they turned Finland into a branch of the Western Church and thus into the remotest and most northerly outpost of the West.

After the jubilee lecture and some Finnish medieval hymns, greetings were conveyed by the participants. The president of the Finnish Republic opened by expressing gratitude for the Finnish Church's achievements through the centuries. He stressed that the church still remains one of the pillars of national life even though she has handed over many of her one-time social and cultural tasks to other institutions.

"The most important missions still remain with the church and will continue with her. The church has been able to devote herself even more

purposefully to her most central task, the deepening and extension of her members' spiritual life, impressing upon them the eternal truths of Christianity. I pray for the Lord's blessing upon this task in this period of disintegration."

Felicitations from the Finnish state were conveyed by Prime Minister Kekkonen. He reported the government's decision to accept the Finnish Church Assembly's proposal to create a new bishopric by dividing the extensive archdiocese into two. (Nowadays the church is more or less independent of the state; however, certain decisions in ecclesiastical matters still have to be made by the state, and this is true of the creation of a new diocese or when a new bishop is to be selected from the three candidates chosen by the congregations and the clergy.)

Greetings were also conveyed by representatives of our Lutheran sister

churches, the Lutheran World Federation, and the Church of England.

Many services were held on this Ascension Day in all Finnish churches to celebrate the jubilee. Parishes also arranged public festivities with speeches and singing; some places produced pageants with scenes from Finnish history. All this attracted a great deal of attention and the press gave much space to articles on church history and on the importance of the church in our time. The festival events were fully reported, with gratitude being the main theme of the articles. Not even the Communist newspapers denied the church's cultural and historical worth.

The jubilee proved that the historic Lutheran Church is very deeply rooted in our land, but it also showed that people expect the church to come up to the demands of the present day.

Mikko Juva

BOOK REVIEWS

Liturgy and Confession

Hans Kressel, *Die Liturgie der Erlanger Theologie: Ihre Geschichte und ihre Grundsätze* (The Liturgy of Erlangen Theology: its History and its Principles), 2nd revised edition, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht: Göttingen, 1948.

Hans Kressel, *Wilhelm Löhe als Liturg und Liturgiker* (Wilhelm Löhe as Liturgist and Liturgian), Freimund-Verlag: Neuendettelsau, 1952.

Hans Kressel, *Wilhelm Löhe: Ein Lebensbild* (: a Portrait), 2nd revised and enlarged edition, Martin Luther Verlag: Erlangen and Rothenburg o. d. Tauber, 1954.

Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke* (Collected Works), Klaus Ganzert, ed., published on behalf of the Society for Inner and Foreign Mission along the lines of the Lutheran Church. Vol. III, 1: *Erbauliche Schriften* (Edifying Writings), Vol. VII, 1: *Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntnisses* (Agenda for Christian Congregations of Lutheran Confession), Freimund-Verlag: Neuendettelsau, 1951 and 1953.

Two basic things are held in common by all the various manifestations of the 19th century's confessional theology: the biblical Word and the Confession. This theology appears as a reaction to rationalism's faith in reason, and as an attempt to assert Reformation principles in the face of aggressive Catholicism. It had been stimulated by the revival movements of the early part of the century and, largely, by the leading philosophers Schelling and Hegel; Schleiermacher, too, exerted a certain influence upon it. Confessional theology sought to build solely on the basis of Holy Scripture, and to expand Holy Scripture in accordance with the confession which was turned into a secondary norm under the biblical Word.

Such a program could, of course, lead easily to theological stagnation. It was

in danger of being directed backwards rather than forward, of not being able to go beyond repristination. The advocates of the movement were well aware of this danger, and therefore attention was constantly directed to the possibilities latent in the relationship of Bible and confession. In this manner, a doctrine of Tradition developed out of the controversy with Roman theologians; its catchword was: organic development. It was not the task of theology to bind itself to solutions arrived at in the long-ago past, but to further evolution on the basis of the historical situation. This aim was developed by A. Harless in his theological encyclopedia; there are clear associations with contemporary philosophy. The confessional theologians saw their task in the solution of ecclesiologic and eschatological problems that attracted much attention. But since they very consciously linked their enquiry into the past with contemporary philosophy, it is only natural that various opinions about future development arose.

The Erlangen theologians and Wilhelm Löhe to whom Hans Kressel dedicated his study of liturgical history which he carried through with great loyalty, are excellent illustrations of the violent conflict that is possible between confessional theologians who in a certain respect build upon the same foundation and who work towards the same end. Yet the difference between them is clear: The Erlangen theologians formed a school with a carefully prepared theological program. Exegetes, church historians, systematicians, and practical theologians worked together to give shape to their ideas. Löhe stood alone, and he did not have any profound inclination toward theology. His strength was, above all, in practical work. Nevertheless, these differences should not obscure the fact that they all sought to defend Lutheran piety and that the Church, her ministry and her liturgy, was their concern. Neither of the parties was satisfied

merely to repeat ancient doctrines; rather, they strove for *organic development*, an expression constantly repeated in Kressel even though unfortunately he does not explain its significance in connection with contemporary philosophy and theology.

The forte of his exposition lies in the realm of history, its weakness in the almost total lack of an analysis based upon the history of ideas. The confessional theologians hold a particularly eminent position in the 200-year history of the Erlangen faculty. Kressel intends to provide a picture not only of their theology, but also of the joint liturgical contribution of the Erlangen faculty. On the basis of purely historical criteria this might prove a feasible project, but it appears much more difficult on the basis of comprehensive principles. For it is entirely impossible to find any common ground among the rationalist and confessional theologians that were members of this south-German university. Even if you cite only this common liturgical interest, as Kessel does, there is not much progress. And if the author then enumerates the principles that supported these liturgical endeavors, he is primarily dependent upon the confessional theologians that set up criteria. An enquiry limited to their share in the liturgical concern might have had more incisive significance for the current debates over the nature of worship, the import of the idea of sacrifice, and several other matters.

Löhe was a lonely man throughout his life. This resulted from a considerable number of factors. Kressel's popularly written biography tells us a good deal about it. To his own generation he seemed addicted to catholicizing tendencies. Today he is honored almost as a church father in the church of his homeland. His fate is an example of the unjust and hasty judgments which the church so frequently pronounces over her most loyal sons. It is difficult to present his theology, because actually he has no theology in the strictest sense. He was a true organizer of the church, a well-read man, and a really thorough collector of the church's liturgical heritage. Because he found in

the treasury of prayers "the traces of a Holy Universal Church", he did not limit his research to the Lutheran church but obtained some of his material elsewhere. This was the difference between the liturgical program of the Erlangen theologians and that of Löhe: the former limited themselves largely to the Lutheran tradition, while Löhe was open to other influences as well. In his liturgical work you find considerable grounds for surmising that some of the stimulation for his effort to remodel the church came from Anglicanism.

The fact that Löhe is today still a vital and important figure is best indicated by the publication of his collected works by Klaus Ganzert in a beautifully printed edition. The two volumes that have already appeared contain his edifying and liturgical writings. But it is not possible to pass judgment on his total theological contribution before all the material is available for research. When you consider how difficult it has hitherto been to gain access to this material, then you will be glad that it is being made available in this manner today, as Löhe's influence reaches far beyond the borders of his homeland.

It is characteristic of his practical approach to the church that his concern for the brethren and sisters in the faith who had emigrated to the United States was the reason for publishing the agenda. His home parish and, later, the deaconess home at Neuendettelsau provided an opportunity to transform his ideas into action. His interest in liturgy in all its forms is founded in his conviction that the church's most inward life finds expression in the liturgy. In the liturgy, the church dwells in the outer courtyards of heaven; liturgy is the image of heavenly worship, it is a prelude to eternal life. H. F.

Bo Reicke, *Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos: in Verbindung mit der altchristlichen Agapenfeier* (Diacony, Conviviality, and Zeal in Relation to Early Christian Agape Celebrations), Uppsala and Wiesbaden, 1951, 444 pp.

The title of this volume, strange at first sight, is explained in the first

chapter. Professor Reicke intends to put before us a study in the history of liturgy. Proceeding via the various names of the early Christian community meal (breaking of bread, Lord's Supper, etc.) he sees in them not the expression of differing types, but merely differing descriptions of the same service, although the latter should not be assumed to have been uniform.

He then examines the concept of agape. By it he does not mean the repast that was later separated from the Eucharist and even set over against it. Instead, he uses the term to describe the sacramental community meal either as a Eucharist-Agape unity or else in its "deutero-eucharistic" character. Certain manifestations characteristic of these early Christian meals are to be approached by means of this name. The motifs thus arrived at are summed up in the concepts of diacony, conviviality, and zeal.

The middle section of the work is, at the same time, the central one. Conviviality puts in an appearance at the Christian community meals and also at related repasts (conversion agape, martyr's agape). If you seek its roots, a reference to the eschatological traits of the eucharist will not suffice, according to Reicke. These do indeed present the "causa efficiens" of the festival ideology, but the "causa substantialis" must be sought in Old Testament cultic practices. — The motif of joy brings forth diacony, dealt with in the first part. Reicke demonstrates its wide-spread prevalence in the feeding of the poor and in the almsgiving of New Testament times, and within the framework of the mass of the 2nd to 4th centuries. But other objects of charity belong here also, for example the payment of clergy. What is generally described as agape, Reicke more precisely now calls "private agape". Agapes for the dead and for martyrs are essentially a part of this category.

The third theme, (zeal or agitation) likewise has its root in conviviality; but it represents a perversion. Reicke believes that it was very widespread, even in New Testament times. He scrutinizes the abuses at Corinth in great detail,

but also follows up the other Pauline letters, James, First and Second Peter, the apostolic Fathers, etc. He regards these revelries as "fruits of a false interpretation of the biblical picture of eschatological joy", even though he takes external influences strongly into account. A materialized eschatology leads to a "sensual perversion of the sacramental meal". At the same time, a here-and-now understanding of eschatology creates gnostic enthusiasts.

This very sketchy outline can hardly transmit an impression of the wealth of all that these studies expound or hint at. Light is continually thrown on the links with worship, and no one will put down this book without having been stimulated into thought. But it must then also be asked whether such links do in fact always exist. Those who, like the present reviewer, will be increasingly sceptical here (i. e. concerning the enumeration of vices), will yet recognize the value of the research for the sociology of the early congregation. It is a matter of course that much still remains controversial. In particular we must question whether the Lukan writings have not been interpreted too "directly", that is, as reports of Jesus and the early congregations, whether what Reicke allows, for instance, in the case of Chrysostomos (pp 33. f.) ought not to be also applied here in greater measure: Interpretation of the events as seen from the author's period.

Let us, therefore, hope for critical readers for this book. These, however, will surely thank the author for many a stimulus and, not least, for external aids: for reprinting the sources in translation (which, however, should generate the desire to handle these sources oneself!), for carefully prepared indices and for an extensive bibliography.

W. M.

Confession, Church, and Ministry

Holsten Fagerberg, *Bekennntnis, Kirche und Amt in der deutschen konfessionellen Theologie des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Confession, Church, and Ministry in

19th century German confessional theology), Almquist & Wiksells: Uppsala & Wiesbaden, 1952. 330 pp.

H. von Campenhausen, *Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (the Ministry and Spiritual Authority during the First Three Centuries), J. C. B. Mohr: Tübingen, 1953. 339 pp.

Wilhelm Maurer, *Bekenntnisstand und Bekenntnisentwicklung in Hessen* (Status and Development of Confessionalism in Hesse), C. Bertelsmann: Gütersloh, 1955. 70 pp.

If only a few titles out of the abundance of large and small monographs that have been written in recent years on the subjects of church, ministry, and confession are here selected and discussed, this is not intended as a judgment on the literature not mentioned. The ensuing essay is intended merely as a brief survey of certain questions that have recently enlivened the discussion on the concept of the Church.

Any discussion of current problems of ecclesiology demands constant reference to the ideas and statements of the fathers. That is why historic and systematic studies are found side by side in the reviews that follow.

When we speak of the fathers' testimony, we refer primarily to the testimony of the Lutheran confessional writings. References to the fathers of the Ancient Church are comparatively of lesser significance, even though the Reformers continually appealed to them. However, we have frequently all too little access to the sources and, moreover, the expositions are written from a theological point of view we can no longer share today. In many respects we are rather critical of the fathers of the 19th century, and for some it is a hazardous undertaking to consider their thoughts, assertions, and doctrines. Both areas of research, the dogmatic history of the Ancient Church and that of the nineteenth century, are to some extent still unexplored territory; here the first two of the cited studies render excellent service.

Holsten Fagerberg examines the origin and history of the confessional (meaning the confessionally Lutheran) theology of the 19th century. His thorough inquiry is devoted primarily to two groups, the circles about Hengstenberg and the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, and the Erlangen school of Höfling, Harless, Hofmann, Th. Harneck, and Thomasius with their *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*; but individualists such as Löhe and Kliefoth are also scrutinized in detail.

Confessional theology has several different roots. In part it is a reaction against the rationalistic movements of the 18th century, but on the other hand it represents the result of a reawakened general confessional consciousness in reaction to the Unions established by various government authorities. First results of this new confessional consciousness are Klaus Harms' ninety-five theses and the Lutheran revival movement in various parts of Germany.

Opinions on Church, ministry, and confession also were formed largely in reaction to widespread individualism but — this is one of the most surprising discoveries — confessional theology was unable to free itself from the dominant philosophical currents. The so-called "organic view" which intruded into confessional theology chiefly through Harless, "rests on idealistic philosophy and romanticism" (Fagerberg, p. 72). Theology is given its rightful place as a science besides other sciences: "The scientific discipline which is called theology is concerned with the supranatural (überkreatürliche) order of things and their relation to human consciousness" (Harless, quoted by Fagerberg, p. 73). Revelation here is objective. This is what was new about confessional theology: it took revelation seriously again. The personal faith of the individual is subjective.

It is therefore against this background of philosophical presupposition that we must view its ideas about confession, Church, and ministry. Reflection was stimulated by a controversy over the ministry (pp. 101 ff.) or, more precisely, by R. Rothe who claimed that the ministry was a late product of the

congregations. In opposition we have Löhe's opinion regarding the ministry as a "dogmatic locus" and that of Hofmann who agrees with Löhe that the ministry is "jure divino". This view is maintained by all of Erlangen theology even though the consequences drawn vary, as for instance in the view of the relationship of the ministry to the universal priesthood of all believers. Discussion "revolves about the two major questions that deal with the origin and the powers of the ministry" (p. 119).

The debate on the concept of the Church paralleled the debate on the ministry. As diverse as the opinions are, in one matter confessional theology stands in essential agreement, namely that the Church is not an association of fellow-believers, but the *congregatio sanctorum*, "a Christian, holy people assembled to faith by the Spirit and the Word". It is the issue, visible versus invisible Church, that is a matter for controversy even here.

"In contrast, confessional theology may be regarded as a united whole wherever its attitude to the confession is at stake" (p. 132). At the back of this, too, lies the philosophical concept of an interplay between subject and object. Faith as subjective experience of an objective fact creates confession. "In other words, development takes place subjectively" (p. 151). The development of revelation in the history of the Church plays a certain role here, especially with Vilmar. In this connection let us mention a brief monograph by Elert, unfortunately not cited by Fagerberg, *Die Kirche und ihre Dogmengeschichte* (Munich, 1950), which takes up the ideas of Vilmar, especially, utilizing them for the current discussion.

On the basis of dialectic transmission (p. 160 ff.), confession must "bring the wealth of the revealed Word to conceptual clarity" (p. 170); Scripture, standing above Church and dogma, is the sole guide. "The Word was primary, then followed confession, and only the third place was conceded the church" (p. 187). Here were the difficulties: how to combine ecclesiology with a concept of the confession which was at bottom individualistic.

The doctrine of the Church shows comparable differences. To men like Stahl and Vilmar she is primarily an institution for salvation (pp. 197 ff.), for Höfling she is primarily community (pp. 225 ff.). And in between there are other views which cannot all be listed here.

For all these confessional theologians the concept of the ministry is largely determined by their concept of the Church; it is regarded, respectively, as a sacramental institution (Höfling; pp. 274 ff.), or as a function of the Church (Kliefoth; pp. 286 ff.), or as deriving from the universal priesthood.

The book opens up an enormous wealth of material that makes confessional theology appear in a new light. Unfortunately, this material is not always sufficiently co-related; it is on the whole an uncritical enumeration of what individual theologians thought or wrote. We miss confessional theology's background in all the currents of the 19th century; at times one wishes for some explanation of how confessional theology originated and prospered in the controversy with other schools (Baur, Strauss). The account is one-sided in this respect; sometimes it comes close to being purely encyclopedic. Moreover, on occasion one misses a comparison of confessional theology with that of the 16th century. The author rarely reaches beyond mere preliminary criticism (cf. e. g. p. 280).

Some deficiencies in externals are less important by comparison. Among these there are, for instance, the use throughout of "Erlangentheologie", a term not generally used in German, or a numbering-system for the footnotes which does not agree with the pages and makes reading more difficult. The book is little more than a survey without the systematic or critical penetration of the material that would have been desirable. Its undeniable value lies in the fact that it opens a new path to the confessional theology of the 19th century, and in its abundance of material.

Von Campenhausen's exhaustive study, *Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, leads us into a completely

different (but basically related) realm. By means of intensive studies of the sources he shows us how the ministry developed from the beginnings into the first centuries of Christian church history.

In the beginning there is not an ordered ministry, given to the Church at her inception, but the authority of the bearers of the Spirit and of offices, an authority which derives from the authority of Jesus revealed in the Resurrection. The apostles are not office-holders in the sense of being congregational leaders; rather, they are the eschatological representation of the new people of God. Ecclesiastical authority develops not only in free, charismatic but also in institutionally settled form. The author seeks to establish "the connections between the special divine commission and the special divine calling" and to prove it by appropriate historical material (p. 3). But in any case, "the point of departure lies with Christ Himself" (*loc. cit.*). Accordingly, "ministry and authority" is approached by going beyond the old issue of "ministry or authority", from the point of view "that Jesus' authority continues to live and becomes ever present".

Von Campenhausen distinguishes the *presbyteroi* whose office, pre-supposing a congregational constitution and at times even an order of estates, had developed in the defense against heresies, yet has connections with the cult, from the *episcopoi* whose functions were originally connected more with divine worship. The episcopal office — here the author uses Ignatius as his primary support — is actually the office of a shepherd and represents the sacred center of the congregation. The teaching office — here the author bases his argument primarily on the Pastoral Letters — protects ordered preaching in the face of all heretical aberrations. We learn how these early church offices developed differently in the several districts. The ministry receives additional decisive impulses through church discipline and the power of the keys. In the course of the controversy with gnostic and other false doctrines, ecclesiastical office is defended on the

basis of paradosis, the heritage of the apostles, and paradosis is connected with monarchic episcopacy, not an original union. But the ministry and ministerial authority were shaped by inter-church struggles as well (pp. 234 ff.). The study is effectively concluded by an exploration of Origen's and Cyprian's ideas on the ministry.

The author shows not only that he is well versed in the sources but that he also knows how to interpret his material. Thus the reader gains completely new perspectives on several matters (*cf.* for instance the work on the concept of the ministry in I. Clem. and other writings of the closing apostolic age, pp. 82 ff.). Even though one cannot always approve the conclusions (question of authenticity!), one has to admire the exegetic achievement. The sources are utilized with such mastery that, as if incidentally, they become relevant to the present. Perhaps in our context this is the most important achievement.

Historic correlations and systematic arrangement are of great importance for von Campenhausen's study, in contrast to Fagerberg. The book benefits, without a doubt. The current discussion on the ministry, especially on the episcopal office, which in any case cannot be carried out without historical study (*cf.* Brunner, *op. cit.*, on the Reformation concept of episcopal office), will be enriched and fertilized by von Campenhausen's work.

Yet another valuable contribution to an historical understanding of the concept of the Church is rendered by *Bekenntnisstand und Bekenntnisentwicklung in Hessen*, a short publication by the Erlangen church historian Wilhelm Maurer. Maurer, who may be regarded as the expert on the church history of the territory of Hesse, develops from his theme, the status and development of confessionalism, not only a church history of Hesse, but the whole complex of problems that has formed about the concept of confession in Protestant history. For Hesse is an example *par excellence* above all other Evangelical countries for these problems. Located from the beginning between the Wittenbergian and the Upper German

Reformation, it has attempted on the one hand to preserve a Melancthonian concept and spirit of the confession, on the other hand it has always been open to vital confessional development. When such conservation proved impossible, Hesse was alternately influenced by Lutheranism and Calvinism. But it never actually committed itself unequivocally to one or the other dominant creed — at least never by rule of confessional law.

After the Enlightenment had brought about the dissolution of confessionally circumscribed forms and credally determined thought, the 19th century produced strong impulses towards confessional restoration even in Hesse, especially under Vilmar's influence. It is true that these tendencies did not prevail but, instead, ended in the secession of confessional Lutheran groups. Even in the disputes that preceded secession, the Landeskirche did not unequivocally take up a specific confessional position. Later, confessional status was determined by the individual congregations rather than by the total (Landes-) church. As a result, today's Electoral Hessian church is in fact a federation of congregations with confessional self-determination, just like her South Hessian sister church, separated in the middle of the 17th century. The shift of the prerogative to determine confessional status to the individual congregation was supported by political changes, in the course of which the soundly Lutheran Waldeck, and Hanaue, since 1817 of unionistic confession, were added to the Electoral Hessian church and made unified regulation all but impossible.

But the definition as a "federation of congregations with confessional self-determination" is not, finally, quite correct, since the old-Hessian section possesses a "common fundamental confessional core" (p. 69). The difficulties in re-formulating credal status have developed because of the different course of confessional development in the added territories. The Electoral Hessian church constitution of 1924 avoided the issue of the confessional status of the total church and has not

dealt with it to this day. In South Hesse, which has seen a similar ecclesiastic development since 1525, a subtractional and minimal confession for the whole church was attempted that seeks to overcome the historic confessions. (Unfortunately, the author does not touch upon the situation in South Hesse which did not differ from that of Electoral Hesse until recent times.)

The book's strong point undoubtedly lies in the studies of the 16th and beginning 17th century when Hesse had only one church, and it is regrettable that the author has but briefly alluded to the interesting 19th century. (Only four pages out of roughly 70 are devoted to later and most recent developments.) Nevertheless, even these brief remarks are of great value, and it is to be hoped that the problem of confessional status and confessional development, especially in the last 100 years, will be raised anew not only in the church of Electoral Hesse but also in the Lutheran churches. Apart from its historical findings, the book is valuable in that Maurer follows through and proves his initial thesis: "There is no necessary contrast between confessional status and confessional development.... Whether a confessional development is genuine becomes apparent where it corresponds to a certain confessional status" (p. 5). It is particularly intriguing to pursue this tension between the status and development of confessionalism, so intensely relevant today, in the example of Electoral Hesse, a church with intricate confessional perplexities.

H. W.

Judaism and the New Testament

Gottlob Schrenk, *Die Weissagung über Israel im Neuen Testament* (The Israel prophecy in the New Testament), Gott-helf-Verlag: Zürich, 1951. 75 pp.

Peter Dalbert, *Die Theologie der hellenistisch-jüdischen Missions-Literatur unter Ausschluß von Philo und Josephus* (The Theology of Hellenistic Jewish Missionary Literature, not including Philo and Josephus), in *Theologische Forschung: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge*

zur kirchlich - evangelischen Lehre, Hans-Werner Bartsch, editor, Ev. Verlag Herbert Reich: Hamburg-Volksdorf, 1954. 148 pp.

R. Morgenthaler, *Kommendes Reich* (The Coming Kingdom), Gotthelf-Verlag: Zürich, 1952. 115 pp.

Die Weissagung über Israel — Prophecies concerning Israel — this constitutes not only a genuinely Old Testament topic, it is, beyond that, quite at home in the New Testament. A double danger always threatens any interpretation of the New Testament's assertions that specifically concern Israel. On the one hand, these sayings can be isolated from the actual core of the Gospel and gathered into a sort of "doctrine" of the last things and Israel's significance for the future history of salvation. This would stress Israel's "special position" to a degree entirely out of harmony with the Gospel and the intention of these New Testament sayings. The other danger lies in the opposite tendency to level down; the special position undoubtedly due Israel on the basis of the New Testament is overlooked or underestimated; the universality of the Gospel is emphasized in a way that allows insufficient consideration for the fact that the people of Israel are themselves, in a certain respect, a part of the Gospel. Israel, the chosen people, became the people whom God hardened and whose obduracy served God's universal plan of redemption. As obdurate Israel crucified her Messiah, God's salvatory resolution to redeem the whole world was fulfilled. Must this obduracy therefore be regarded as the final fate of the Israelite people? The hope found throughout the New Testament prophecies on Israel is outlined in Jesus' words: the time will come when you will say: "Blessed be he who comes in the name of the Lord." (Matth. 23:39; Luke 13:35.) Israel will one day turn in faith to her Christ. Since all matters that concern Israel are turned exclusively into the question of her assent to Christ, Israel's future is for all the New Testament none other than that which she shares with all the world, with the universal Christian Congregation.

The Scripture passages to which Schrenk gives special attention include Mark 13; Matth. 24; Luke 19 and 21; Matth. 19:28; Luke 22:28-30; Acts 1:4-8 and 3:19-21; I. Thess. 2:14-16; Rom. 9-11 as well as chapters 11, 12, 16, 20 and 21 of the Revelation to John. Not only theologians but lay people with interest in the church can, from Schrenk's publication, receive valuable help towards understanding a question of as much concern to our present-day congregation as it was once to early Christianity.

Dalbert's work, in contrast, turns to the religious environment of early Christendom, limiting its enquiry to those writings of Hellenistic Jewish diaspora literature that have missionary characteristics. Naturally, in such a selection it is at times difficult to draw definite lines between the various species of literature, clearly distinguishing, for instance, a missionary from an apologetic piece. The author has justifiably pointed out this difficulty of method.

Included among the writings and fragments treated are Demetrios, Artapanos, Ezechiel the Tragedian, the Wisdom of Solomon, the Epistle of Aristeas, and the Sybillic Oracles. In Dalbert's judgment these writings testify "to the staunch struggle for loyalty to the Torah on the one hand, but also to existentially conditioned concessions towards people of different faiths, on the other" (p. 16). The author exhibits the factors contributing to the development of a lively missionary purpose within the Jewish diaspora (pp. 21 ff.). But it is his chief concern to give the floor to the theology of the mission literature.

Dalbert has rendered a service by making the source material available to us in considerable detail. The conclusions that he draws from this material are, however, at times given in all too general terms. A more incisive delineation of what was specifically Jewish in the diaspora theology and its comparison with the alien concepts that intruded would have been desirable, for the missionary aspect in particular demands precise definition of the various individual elements and their

combination. This is not to deny the value of the summary of the available Jewish material that the author has provided. The survey is well ordered. In his account the author has, moreover, indirectly provided unequivocal evidence that Jewish-Palestinian literature was much closer to early Christianity in the formulation of its enquiries and in its expressions than is generally assumed.

Morgenthauer's work, finally, takes us right into the important debate about the nature of the final Christian expectation. Subject to scrutiny is C. H. Dodd's thesis of "realized eschatology". According to Dodd, Jesus taught that the Kingdom of God had already come, citing as evidence above all Matth. 12:28 and Mark 1:15 as well as corresponding parallel passages. A semantic analysis of the verbs *ᾠανεν* and *ἐγγίξεν* by no means justifies, Morgenthauer is convinced, any identification of these two words with the verb *ἐρχεσθαι*. And therefore the cited passages are not suitable supports for the thesis Dodd seeks to base on them.

Morgenthauer's criticism is, however, directed primarily against the methodological principle of selection underlying Dodd's use of the synoptic material and making him place particular stress on the passages in question. For, after all, there are numerous other sayings besides Jesus' parables whose authenticity cannot be doubted and that should have been considered in this connection. These statements present an exceedingly complex picture: besides the already fulfilled expectation one finds expectation for the immediate future, for the near future, and for the distant future. What binds these sayings together is the fact that they serve a christological eschatology. There is realized eschatology; it is named Jesus Christ. Yet this factor does not preclude simultaneous eschatology as future. The "coming Kingdom" is by no means revoked by a "kingdom that has come". The expectation of this future does not derive from general "speculations" about the future, it is founded exclusively in faith in the resurrection and is included in that faith. The Christian

Congregation's expectation is that future which to expect she is entitled and called as the Body of Jesus Christ.

Morgenthauer's critique of Dodd contains important exegetic and systematic references which are certain to prove fruitful in future discussions of this topic. The author asserts that, in respect to systematics, Dodd's "realized eschatology" constitutes, as it were, a British experiment with demythologizing.

H. L.

On Sexual Ethics

Otto Piper, *Die Geschlechter: Ihr Sinn und ihr Geheimnis in biblischer Sicht* (The Sexes: their Meaning and Mystery seen from the Bible), Furcht-Verlag: Hamburg, 1954.

The tremendous changes which, in most recent times, have occurred in the various areas of human existence within the realm of western culture have fundamentally changed views about sex and cast them in a new mold. We have experienced something like a revolution whose course has increasingly separated us from traditional practice and from the traditional Christian understanding of this sphere of life. External events and profound changes in the human attitude to life have created considerable overemphasis of the sexual. At the same time, however, the attempt to find a solution to the problem of human life in this orbit has failed.

This situation constitutes Otto Piper's point of departure in *Die Geschlechter*. The author was lecturer at Münster University in western Germany before the war and is now professor at Princeton Theological Seminary in New Jersey, USA. His book attempts to face modern man's distress and to provide directives for him in such questions, through a new understanding of the evangelical message. Is it merely a matter of illustrating human errors, or can Christian faith actually be a help to people in these matters?

The author seeks to understand sexuality not from the point of view of

matrimony, but from the "original phenomenon of the sexual division of mankind". A characteristic of non-believing modern man is his self-estrangement, the fact that he has lost his self. Only the Gospel enables man to regain this lost self. Piper has developed this idea in some detail under the heading "Die biblische Sinndeutung der Geschlechtlichkeit" (the biblical interpretation of the essence of sexuality) in the first part of his work which seems to be the most original and most significant section of the book.

At the center of his argument is the biblical concept of "the unity of the flesh" which characterizes sexual encounter. Piper shows what this unity signifies, in opposition to the idealistic as well as the materialistic view of man. "Flesh", according to biblical linguistic usage, does not refer merely to the material corporeality of man but to his total natural existence. The unity of the flesh commands its own value and involves a great and profound mystery which Piper describes as follows: "What is peculiar to sexual experience is precisely that the man suddenly realizes that he necessarily requires the woman in order to become a complete self, and the woman the man. In myself I am and remain a fragment, only the other person helps me to my totality" (p. 72). From this point of view the first complete sexual encounter achieves a crucial significance in the human understanding of existence. It becomes a "fundamental experience" (Urerlebnis). Undoubtedly any critique of Piper's work will be directed primarily against this anthropological presupposition.

A second basic idea in a biblical understanding of sexuality is "the sanctification of marriage as the form of sexual relationship desired by God". Piper develops his exposition of marriage in the second major section of his work under the heading "The Norms of Sexual Life". In contrast to Lutheran ethics and its understanding of marriage as an order of creation, Piper declares that the origin of matrimony derives from human co-habitation but that God is nevertheless active in this occurrence and provides its purpose. The prece-

dence of matrimony over a mere sexual alliance is founded in the affinity of human wedlock to God's marriage, to Christ's marriage. Whatever is essential to God's relationship with his covenanted people or Christ's relationship with the Church, also appears in human matrimony. The latter, therefore, points beyond itself, and thus the true and full meaning of marriage and of sexuality is open only to Christian faith. Only believing love can rightly assent to the divine meaning of which sexuality partakes. These ideas are further developed by Piper in the third main section that treats of "the reality of sexual life".

Piper must be credited with realistic and expert treatment of a number of important issues and concrete problems, such as the position of unmarried women in a society with a considerable excess of women. However, just this problem of a surplus of women turns out to be particularly knotty when approached from Piper's anthropological assumptions. The author is well versed in modern psychology, psychotherapy, and sociology and has learned much from these areas of scientific inquiry without, however, adopting their results uncritically. Piper makes biblical understanding the sole criterion for the interconfessional controversy over matters of sexual ethics. In the current situation this is, surely, the only fruitful point of departure. Piper's work certainly represents an interesting attempt to interpret the message of the Gospel for our day and to illuminate its consequences for the conduct of human life, even to one who is rather critical towards any attempt to explain the human situation and the evangelical message with the aid of such categories as "self-estrangement", "self-understanding", and "self-realization of the I".

O. S.

Demythologizing

Karl Jaspers, Rudolf Bultmann, *Die Frage der Entmythologisierung* (The Problem of Demythologizing), Piper Verlag: München, 1954.

After Jaspers' attack on Bultmann's program and the latter's reply had been published in *Kerygma and Mythos*, Vol. III (1954), the present volume makes available to the general public, in addition to the two previous documents, Jaspers' answer contained in an open letter to Bultmann.

This latest addition to the discussion makes one thing completely evident: the controversy between Jaspers and Bultmann is concerned about much more, indeed about something other, than the specific hermeneutic problem of demythologizing, its original occasion. In Jaspers' words, the issue is the "self-assertion of philosophy" (p. 77) in the face of orthodoxy, which he thinks dominates Bultmann.

The "liberalism" of the philosopher who proudly sees himself in the train of Lessing (p. 40), Plato, Plotinus, Spinoza (p. 112) and, especially, Kant (pp. 43, 100, 112) finds this intolerable and offensive orthodoxy in the absolute claim of the Christian faith as presented by Bultmann. Jaspers scores this scandal on two levels: once — the historical aspect — as the doctrine of "justification by faith alone, faith in redemptive action, this, for any philosopher, most alien, oddest thing, existentially almost no longer speech, this thing Lutheran with its dreadful consequences" (p. 49; cf. pp. 24 and 84). Again he sees it — factually, on the level of debate — in the exclusive commitment of divine revelation to the "historic personality of Jesus", or in tying God's consolation in any contemporary proclamation "to the word of the New Testament, that is, to a definitely determined objectivity" (p. 81).

Bultmann, too, sees this as the scandal, as "the paradox of Christian faith, that the eschatological event that marks the world's end has occurred in the world's history" (p. 72).

And yet they each talk about something different. The difference is founded in a dissimilar understanding of history, historicity, occurrence, tradition, etc. Proximity to the "historical" in all these concepts is greater with Jaspers than with Bultmann. To stress the point, one might put it this way: for

Jaspers, contingency in the concept of history primarily implies chance, relativity; for Bultmann it means predominantly uniqueness, and thus "aboluteness".

It is from this divergence that the contrary views of interpretation of historical texts derive. As inclusive and paradox a concept of history as Bultmann's demands an appropriate theory for the interpretation of historical texts. This is likely to involve a dichotomy "between empirical, philologic exegesis and theological appropriation in faith" (p. 30). Jaspers, by contrast, regards a distinction between "original comprehension" and "comprehending the comprehended" as definitely meaningful and extends this to the scholar (exegete) on the one and the proclaimer or minister, as Jaspers likes to put it, on the other hand. The assertion: "Interpretation has become a vice" (p. 91) is a wholesome warning, but as an axiom it would indicate "enthusiasm".

Interpretation turns to myth. The differences arising in the understanding of this concept should be the easiest to remove. Bultmann himself indicates this (p. 63). But even were Bultmann to substitute Jaspers' "transcendental philosophic" concept of myth for his own more limited one, this would not, in his view, solve the problem of demythologizing; it would intensify it. (Cf. W. Pannenberg, "Mythos und Wort", *Z Th K* 51, 1954.)

The total impression that a theologian might gain of the discussion between Jaspers and Bultmann so far, might be formulated thus in an appeal to learned theology: The honest, serious enquiry of Protestant piety of the closing nineteenth century — here expounded by a philosopher who says of himself: "I regard myself as a Protestant, belong to a congregation and enjoy the fortunate Protestant liberty to assure myself of the faith in which I think I live, or at least should like to live, on my own, without intermediary, in immediate contact with the transcendent, with the Bible for a guide, and with Kant" (p. 82) — may not be passed over in silence or with a shrug of the shoulders. In this case this means that the concept

"history", and the significance of the historical within it, must decidedly be further elucidated.

Bultmann has reserved to himself the time and manner of reply. We hope and desire that he might choose the way of direct answer, lest the beginning of communication that Jaspers achieved in earnestness and candid sincerity (a model example: the ninth section of the reply) be buried, and the threat made reality: "Whoever has his God may so easily avoid communication in the world" (p. 101).

Theology for Laymen

Hermann Schuster, Karl Ringshausen, Walter Tebbe, eds., *Quellenbuch zur Kirchengeschichte III: Vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart* (Sourcebook of Church History III: From the Beginning of the 19th Century to the Present), Verlag Moritz Diesterweg: Frankfurt a. M. - Berlin - Bonn, 1954.

This book is something between a popular sourcebook and a scientific collection of source material. The editors put particular emphasis on the former as is shown by the fact that they included a "Committee for the Evangelical Instruction of Youth" among their consultants. The foreword, however, stresses that great care was taken in the annotation of sources.

If you examine the book thoroughly in this respect, this promise is revealed as a pious wish rather than a principle of procedure. Numerous sections lack any reference to original documents whatsoever, (e. g. pp. 9, 53, 65, 107, 119), or else the source is insufficiently identified (e. g. pp. 5, 87, 115, 153). It even happens that a personality is placed in a different generation from the one to which he actually belongs. Thus the book *How I became a Christian* by Uchimura, a Japanese, has been given the date 1923, though an English edition of the book was available 28 years before that time (Tokyo, 1895). This sort of thing considerably reduces the book's scientific value. The structure of the

book may, however, be regarded as exemplary. Every conceivable facet of church life finds its place within the framework of a natural and well-thought-out scheme.

The material is divided into five sections. The first part, "Vom Landeskirchentum zur Ökumene" (from National Church to Ecumenism, pp. 1-51), deals with such manifestations of the church's life as inner and foreign missions, church government, divine worship, world service, etc. The second section, "Catholicism, Eastern Church, Sects" (pp. 52-78), gives examples of extra-evangelical thought as well as of inter-church controversies. The third section, "The Struggle for a Just Order of Society" (pp. 79-94), gives voice to Marxism's challenges to the church, and the church's answer to these challenges. While a brief section, "National Substitute Religion and the Christian Faith" (pp. 95-120), is devoted to the National-Socialist view of religion and its relation to the Christian faith, the last section, "Evangelical Faith and the Questions of our Time", rightly takes up more than a third of the book (pp. 121-294). This plan places both the practical problems of the church and the theological, ideological questions of the last 150 years into their proper perspective.

Selection of sources is, of course, a matter of individual evaluation, and is to be judged accordingly. The fact that the Evangelical North is represented only by Kierkegaard and one pastoral letter of the Swedish bishops (probably of 1950), may perhaps be excused by the book's character as a practical help for a German reading public. But there is hardly any excuse for not giving a single line to the mention of Werner Elert, besides Barth, Brunner, Althaus, Bultmann, and others, or to the Lutheran World Federation, besides the World Council of Churches and worldwide conferences such as Stockholm 1925, Amsterdam 1948, or Bangkok 1949. The distribution of the material is also somewhat disproportionate. A quick check of the first section shows that the history of the church's last thirty years takes up 50 % more space than the pre-

vious 100 years. These weaknesses are made up by the fact that the editors have really chosen the church's most important realms and manifestations of life and have backed these up with the help of a host of characteristic and appropriate sources.

The book is quite suitable as an aid to instruction in church history in teachers' seminaries, laymen's courses, mission schools, as well as individual studies in church history. L. G. T.

Stuttgarter Bibelhefte, Quell-Verlag: Stuttgart, 1954.

1. Ulrich Kunz, *The Book of Genesis*, 104 pp.

2. Ulrich Kunz, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, 104 pp.

3. Karl Gutbrod, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 43 pp.

4. Willi Pfründer, *The Epistle to the Philippians*, 28 pp., and Karl Gutbrod, *The Epistle to the Colossians*, 37 pp. (All in German).

These titles constitute a new series, the "Stuttgarter Bibelhefte" for the Quell-Verlag. They are being published in a loose relationship to the general plan of Bible readings: each separate booklet, octavo size, carries a one-color woodcut-like picture. The total work, to comprise thirty booklets, is to be completed in about five years.

The publishers are not primarily addressing themselves to the pastor; they seek their readers chiefly in the Bible study groups of the congregations, among catechists, and in Christian homes. The considerations of Romans and Philippians, for instance, have grown out of youth work and were written for young people, though not exclusively for them.

The pamphlets intentionally avoid any verse-by-verse explanation of the biblical text. Rather, going along with the text, they seek to present in general outline the individual biblical books

and their kerygmatic content. This presents a difficulty of method to Kunz; in the discussion of Genesis and Matthew respectively, he is faced with different sources. If this is simply ignored, the unity and significance of the presentation will almost invariably suffer. That is why Kunz takes the reader into his confidence immediately. In the first volume he deals with Genesis 1—11 with express reference to the two main sources, without however following up their peculiar subject-matter in his cross-section of the history of the Patriarchs. He is even more consistent in his second booklet on Matthew. For this discusses merely those sections which belong to Q or are peculiar to Matthew. Wherever Matthew is based on Mark, Kunz refers the reader to the latter. Thus he can deal more extensively with Matthew's specific testimony in the chorus of the gospels. The accents are brought out more clearly, though some will deplore the omissions, especially as the volume on Mark has not been made available this year.

In this respect the two smaller booklets on the Pauline letters have an easier task. While Pfründer dresses up his discourse on Philippians as a sermon, Gutbrod provides the reader with something like a continuous meditation. Incidentally, his Romans is a revised and extended reprint from the "Bible Series for Evangelical Youth" (1946). This probably explains the booklet's comparative brevity. A chapter on Colossians will come to nine pages where a chapter on Romans is given two and a half.

All in all, one can only heartily recommend the volumes that have appeared so far. All of them are clearly thought out theologically, lively and descriptive in their writing and thus stimulating and fruitful for the reader, a service along the lines of our Kirchentage.

P. K.

DO WE TALK ABOUT THE THINGS THAT MATTER?

In the course of one of the public evangelism drives that nowadays are carried out everywhere in our churches, a group of some two hundred helpers, men and women of every condition and vocation, visited several thousand households in a certain section of a large city. This visitation had been carefully prepared with Bible study, prayer, and advance discussion of all the questions which were anticipated as likely in an encounter with people far removed from the church.

When experiences were exchanged at a gathering at the end of this project, a strange and surprising picture evolved. The doorbells at the unfamiliar doors had been rung with the timidity and apprehension peculiar to probably every contemporary; the greetings and the invitation of the congregation were delivered. Only in the rarest instances was any noticeable resistance encountered in this. Generally, the doors were readily and cheerfully opened after the first few words, the visitor was asked to come in, and a conversation ensued.

It was in the course of this conversation that the guest very soon realized that the critical moment which he had so feared occurred, as it were, not outside, but behind the apartment door. He began to realize that the words "church" or "congregation" did not, at any rate, release any defense mechanism but that apparently it was exceedingly difficult to carry on a conversation as a representative of the church with some individual person or in a small group. For what happened in these discussions?

Very rarely did the hosts complain about Christians and their behavior, very rarely did they raise ideological objections to the Christian faith — they did something very different, something totally unexpected. They talked about themselves and about their life, about its difficulties and about its joys which themselves frequently were but difficulties in disguise. They said that "quite sincerely and with the best will in the world" they could find no room and no place in this life for all that was here to be given and said to them. And what they said often was so convincing that the visitors did not dare doubt this good will; it presented such a complete picture with each piece fitting in precisely with all the others that they could not see how they might penetrate this completeness that did, of course, involve complete impermeability.

Therefore they generally kept silent; and when they finally left with the feeling of utter failure, they had after all done precisely the best thing they could have done under the circumstances. At any rate, much gratitude was expressed to the pastor of this parish during later visitations, for the friendly understanding that the strangers had shown, and he was told of the wonder over the fact that people one had not known at all had listened so earnestly when one talked about oneself. For the deputies' silence had not simply been the silence of perplexity and embarrassment. It had been that, surely, but it had been the perplexity which confounds man whenever he faces that impermeable front, not of "flesh or blood", that "*nondum considerasti quantum ponderis sit peccati*", that so often is our very first indication of the proximity of this front.

This human embarrassment, on the other hand, also holds the possibilities of Him who is the world's hope, for the front-line upon which we have stumbled is the very front where He wins the victory. Respectful silence or a brief prayer certainly count for more at this point than effortless talk in the safe hinterland of abstract concepts.

Or are we, perchance, to inform the partners in a broken marriage that the family represents the cell unit of all human community, as we have faithfully learned it, back there? They probably know this better, in their impotence, than we do. Are we to tell the people of a country under totalitarian rule where limits are drawn to the state? They will think we speak to them from a foreign planet. Are we to tell today's city-dweller that he must regain a sense of home and

community? This, indeed, is his very distress, that this world has left him stranded with barely any ties. — Are we to show the churches whose pastors must live every day with the scantiness of their salary, the meanness of their sanctuaries, the inertia of their parishioners, the indifference or opposition of the world about them, how to make the world take notice, make parishioners take more responsibility, and produce a more abundant flow of contributions for the church and its work?

We have intentionally added this last question, because apparently the same general criteria that apply to conversations among men apply also to the conversation of the churches. This conversation, too, can now be carried on properly only in the vicinity of the frontline, where Christ Himself contends against the sin of this world. Moreover, it can be carried on only if the partners know from the first that "with might of theirs can naught be done" and that their gathering ought not to be held primarily to enable the "successful" to try to pull the others along by an exchange of means and methods. Surely no one will doubt that an organization of the Christian forces in all the world, collaboration of the various churches, sharing the distress, and passing on the special gifts that each has received, is the particular "ecumenical task" of christendom in our generation, in view of the abundant blessing that all have received from it and still are receiving. But through all the centuries of her existence the Church has also been aware that her encounter is not one of congregation X with village X, but of the Church with the world. And this awareness implied an inclusiveness and a "closeness to the frontline" in the sense that we discussed this earlier, that is by no means characteristic of all our ecumenical talk.

Perhaps a little incident will illustrate what we are driving at. Some months ago I was invited to read the prayer for the unity of the Church issued by the Faith and Order Commission at an ecumenical worship service. In the course of preparations for this service I inquired of a fellow minister whether by any chance this happened to be the only intercessory prayer to be included. He replied in the affirmative and now, unable to suppress my astonishment entirely, I wondered why at this of all services we should not join all christendom in intercession for all callings and estates, the afflicted and the dying, the erring and the apostate. There was immediate assent and it was somewhat shamefacedly acknowledged that it was possible to forget the ecumenism involved in the very nature of the Church for sheer ecumenical fervor.

In view of the uncanny attraction that is nowadays exercised by institutionalization, the unification of the churches, whatever its frame of reference, is by no means safe from turning into a specialized area of church life, into a department where certain persons deal with certain tasks involving interchurch relationships but which will be meaningful for congregational life only under certain specific circumstances. Within such a group of specialists, agreement can easily be reached on certain matters, at least in theory. For it is not, after all, so very difficult to work out certain common views on social justice, on methods of evangelism, or on the relationship between men and women. But from experience we are all too familiar with the long road between such decisions and their effective assimilation into the life of individual churches.

This, too, can perhaps be illustrated by an example, in this case the modest example of this journal. Probably no one will gainsay the statement that the reports from various countries are generally more stimulating than the reports on the meetings of international interchurch commissions. Concerning the commissions we are prone to ask: How can this help us? Concerning the reports from different lands we instinctively inquire: How do we shape up on this? or: What can we do together or for one another in this matter? Possibly, too, we may first fall into respectful silence when faced by the immensity of the task as it is presented, particularly impressively in the current number, I think, by Julia Sarumpaet and Walter Kloetzli.

If we truly have confidence in our Lord's promise, then we need not be ashamed of this silence. For such silence is more sincere than an immediate offer of panaceas. Fortunately, we have thus far never experienced the latter, and in any case this journal does not see its task in providing such solutions. It does not wish to do so, because it wants to continue at the much-cited front line of the church. Therefore this publication sees its service primarily in helping the churches not only to hear about, but to listen to, one another. Should this happen, then we may be sure that at the next Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in 1957 the churches will discuss the things that matter.

Hans Bolewski

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Dr. Thomte's article on Kierkegaard continues our series on prominent personalities of recent Lutheran church history. At the same time it commemorates the centenary of the Danish philosopher's death.

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